July, 1939 Vol. XVI. No. 3

THE CROZER QUARTERLY

BERKELEY BAPTIST DIVINITY SCHOOL LIBRARY

CONTENTS

PAGE

THE IGNORED TAVERNER BIBLE OF 1539. Harold H. Hutson and Harold R. Willoughby 161

THE ETHICAL BASIS OF CHRISTIAN SALVATION. George W. Davis..... 177

WHAT'S AHEAD FOR THE SUNDAY SCHOOL? Miles Woodward Smith..... 190

SPENSER BYRON MEESER, D.D. Morton S. Enslin..... 198

HIS SONS, ISAAC AND ISHMAEL. Walter R. Alexander..... 201

BOOK REVIEWS 215

BOOK NOTICES 237

THE CROZER QUARTERLY

THE CROZER QUARTERLY is published by the Faculty of Crozer Theological Seminary, with the aid of funds provided by the Trustees. THE QUARTERLY aims to be a journal for the expression of theological opinion, embracing all the interests of students of religion, whether ministers, teachers, or laymen. It does not accept responsibility for the views expressed, publication indicating that the editors regard the articles as voicing opinions important enough to command attention.

R. E. E. HARKNESS, Editor.
RITTENHOUSE NEISSER, Business Manager.

Editorial communications, contributions and books for review should be sent to

THE EDITOR, THE CROZER QUARTERLY
Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

Remittances and business communications should be addressed to

THE BUSINESS MANAGER, THE CROZER QUARTERLY
Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

Requests for catalogs and communications regarding courses in the Seminary should be addressed to

PRESIDENT JAMES H. FRANKLIN
Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

Subscription, $1.50 the year; single numbers, 40 cents

Printed for the Crozer Theological Seminary by
THE JUDSON PRESS
Philadelphia, Pa.

Entered as second-class matter, December 21, 1923, at the post-office at Chester, Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized December 21, 1923.

Copyright, July, 1939, by Crozer Theological Seminary.

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

THE CROZER QUARTERLY

Vol. XVI JULY, 1939 No. 3

THE IGNORED TAVERNER BIBLE OF 1539

HAROLD H. HUTSON
HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY

The University of Chicago

I. 1535–1540

NOT for a near-century will students of the English Bible have the opportunity to celebrate so many important centennials in quick succession as have emerged in the short half-decade, 1935-1940. The list of Bible quatrocentenaries alone for this period has included the celebration of the following major first editions:

A. Coverdale Bible, 1535, first printed English Bible;
B. Thomas Matthew Bible, 1537, first licensed English Bible;
C. Cromwell Great Bible, 1539, first authorized English Bible;
D. Richard Taverner Bible, 1539, last early revision of the English Bible.

In addition it should be remembered that the year 1540 saw the publication of the Cranmer Great Bible in the month of April, to be followed in July and November by the third and fourth editions of this Coverdale revision.

This summary of Bible printings takes no account of the specifically New Testament events of the period, which have their own peculiar interest and importance. In 1536, the very year of William Tyndale's martyrdom at Vilvorde, there was published an octavo New Testament "yet once agayne corrected" by Tyndale himself. That was the last piece of revision work that the translator-martyr was able to do. In 1538 the conciliatory Latin-English New Testament of Myles Coverdale was published and republished in a singular sequence of uncorrected and carefully corrected editions. First came the Nycolson quarto, so carelessly proofed that Coverdale had to repudiate it. Coverdale himself then published a corrected octavo through Regnault of Paris. In retaliation for this correction, James Nycolson put out his pirated quarto edition, and even accredited it by a cancel title to "Johan Hollybushe," not

Myles Coverdale. It is hoped that this series of episodes cannot be matched elsewhere in the history of printing.[1]

Back of these publication events, and conditioning them all, were historical developments of the utmost moment for the Tudor dynasty, the English nation, the Anglican Church, and the Reformation in England. Early in this half-decade, King Henry VIII appointed Thomas Cromwell—sacrilegious brute that he was—as his vicar-general, the vicegerent for the king in "spiritual" matters. In this capacity Cromwell acted ruthlessly to establish the supremacy of the king over the church in governmental concerns. Also he acted intelligently to establish the supremacy of the Scriptures within the church in matters of faith. He personally backed all the editings and revisions of the English Bible during the period: Coverdale's and Rogers' and Taverner's. He personally obtained the "Kinges most gracyous lycēce" for the "Thomas Matthew" Bible of 1537. In September of the next year he formulated and sent to Archbishop Cranmer the famous set of royal injunctions, one of which prescribed: "That you shall provide on this side the feast of . . . next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that you have cure of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same, and read it."[2] Considering the nature of this royal order, it is nothing surprising that the Injunctions of 1538 were roundly celebrated in England last year as crucial for the history of the Reformation and the English Bible.

The year 1540, which saw the culmination of the first English period of Bible revision at the appearance of the Cranmer Great Bible in April, saw also in June-July the disgrace and execution of Cromwell himself. Thereafter his coat-of-arms was eliminated from the Holbein (?) title page to subsequent editions of the Great Bible; but his domineering figure was left standing opposite the portrayal of Archbishop Cranmer, where he continued to hand the *Verbum Dei* to the laity. Fact was here strikingly pictured and emphasized. After the execution of Cromwell, occasion was found to send Richard Taverner to the Tower for a period; and it seemed expedient to Myles Coverdale to go into exile on the Continent. So ended, with royal supremacy secure and arrogant, the great first half-decade of Bible revision in England.

[1] There is a certain parallel, though not an exact one, in the regrettable Tyndale-Joye controversy of 1534-1535. See Edward Arber (Ed.), *An Apology made by George Joy, to satisfy, if it may be, W. Tindale,* 1535 (Birmingham, 1882).

[2] Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1896), p. 275; D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Brittanniæ et Hiberniæ a synodo Verolamiensi* 446 *ad Londinensem* 1717 (London, 1737), Vol. III, p. 815.

It is most appropriate, gratifying, and convenient for students that the quadricentennials since 1935 have produced facsimiles and reprints of the highest excellence and importance for documenting the half-decade of history and Bible revision we have been celebrating. At the very forefront stands the Caxton Club (Chicago) facsimile of the Coverdale Psalter, basically the Psalter still in use in the Anglican Church throughout the English-speaking world today.[3] Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed, distinguished translator of both the New Testament and the Apocrypha, edited a reprint and facsimile of *The Translators to the Reader,* being the Preface to the King James Version of 1611.[4] The American Bible Society inaugurated the half-decade by making available at a nominal cost facsimile pages from all the great early printings of the English Bible (1525-1611).[5] The same society issued a typographical compendium of universal Bible printing to accent the conclusion of the centennial sequence.[6] In England, the Royal Society of Literature brought out a reprint of Tyndale's 1534 (GH) New Testament as a useful Tyndale memorial.[7]

The years since 1935 have also produced a few critical researches into the history of the English Bible that are worth including in one's permanent library. To have created a biography of William Tyndale worthy to stand beside the classic work of Robert Demaus, is no small accomplishment. After two-thirds of a century, that is what J. F. Mozley has done at last.[8] Mr. L. A. Sheppard of the British Museum has pointed the way to a sound solution of the ancient mystery as to where on the Continent the Coverdale Bible was printed.[9] Summarizing a generation of familiar work with early printings of the English Bible, Dr. W. T. Whitley has recorded a variety of individual proposals that merit examination and criticism.[10] The least tenable of them is his identification of "Thomas Matthew" as a councilman of Colchester and a fishmonger of London.

[3] Harold R. Willoughby, *The Coverdale Psalter and the Quatrocentenary of the Printed English Bible* (Chicago, 1935). This facsimile and monograph was "crowned" by the American Institute of Graphic Arts as one of the "Fifty Books of the Year MCMXXXVI." The superb book-designing of Mr. William A. Kittredge won this distinction.

[4] Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Translators to the Reader: Preface to the King James Version 1611* (Chicago, 1935).

[5] American Bible Society, *The History of the English Bible in Facsimile Pages* (Chicago, 1935).

[6] Eric M. North, *The Book of a Thousand Tongues* (New York, 1939).

[7] N. Hardy Wallis, *The New Testament Translated by William Tyndale,* 1534 (Cambridge, 1938).

[8] J. F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (New York, 1937).

[9] L. A. Sheppard, *The Printers of the Coverdale Bible,* 1535 (London, 1935).

[10] W. T. Whitley, *The English Bible Under the Tudor Sovereigns* (London, 1938). This attractive little volume is illustrated most valuably by well-selected documents reproduced in woodcuts and half-tones.

Of the early Bibles themselves, a census of extant copies has been prepared and published for the Coverdale Bible of 1535, the Matthew Bible of 1537, and the Taverner Bible of 1539.[11] It is accordingly possible for students of early English Bible revision to get access to their source materials with maximum convenience.

II. The Neglected Taverner Bible

Among all the early printings of the English Bible, that of Richard Taverner has been the most conspicuously ignored and the least used. It was so in the very period of its publication; and it is still so. Increasingly this has been evident during our half-decade of quatrocentenaries. In the American Bible Society's epitome of Bible printings—*The Book of a Thousand Tongues*—no special article was devoted to the Taverner revision, nor was any facsimile reproduced from it. With all the other great English versions represented synoptically, this omission would seem to be inexcusable.

Taverner's work was not included in the English Hexapla along with the Wycliffe, Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Rheims, and King James versions. It was not collated by A. W. Pollard in his facsimile publication of the Cologne fragment of Tyndale's New Testament;[12] and it was barely mentioned by him in his Introduction to the tercentenary reprint of the 1611 Bible. No Taverner documents were included in Pollard's invaluable *Records of the English Bible* (1911). In the major Bible exhibitions since the Caxton celebration of 1877, only a single copy of Taverner has usually been included, and sometimes not even that. The Taverner title-page (Plate I), handsomely designed if poorly put together, has been the least frequently reproduced of all the great wood-cut titles from 1535 to 1611.[13]

In manual histories of the English Bible, the Taverner version is generally assigned only a scanty terminal paragraph, appended to the chapter on the Matthew Bible of 1537 or the Great Bible of 1539. What is usually said regarding it is almost always to this point: "Taverner's version was immediately superseded by the Great Bible, and had practically no influence on later versions."[14]

[11] Harold R. Willoughby, "Current Errors Concerning the Coverdale Bible," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. LV (1936), Part I, pp. 1-16, Pls. I and II; Harold H. Hutson and Harold R. Willoughby, "Decisive Data on Thomas Matthew Problems," *Journal of Bible and Religion*, Vol. 6 (1938), Part II, pp. 77-82, 121-128.

[12] Alfred W. Pollard, *The Beginning of the New Testament Translated by William Tyndale*, 1525 (Oxford, 1926).

[13] For example, in A. Edward Newton's *Greatest Book in the World* (Boston, 1925), just where one expects to see a half-tone of the Taverner title, one sees instead the title-page of the Edwardian Book of Common Prayer (1549).

[14] British Museum, *Guide to the Manuscripts and Printed Books Exhibited in Celebration of the Tercentenary of the Authorized Version* (London, 1911), p. 41.

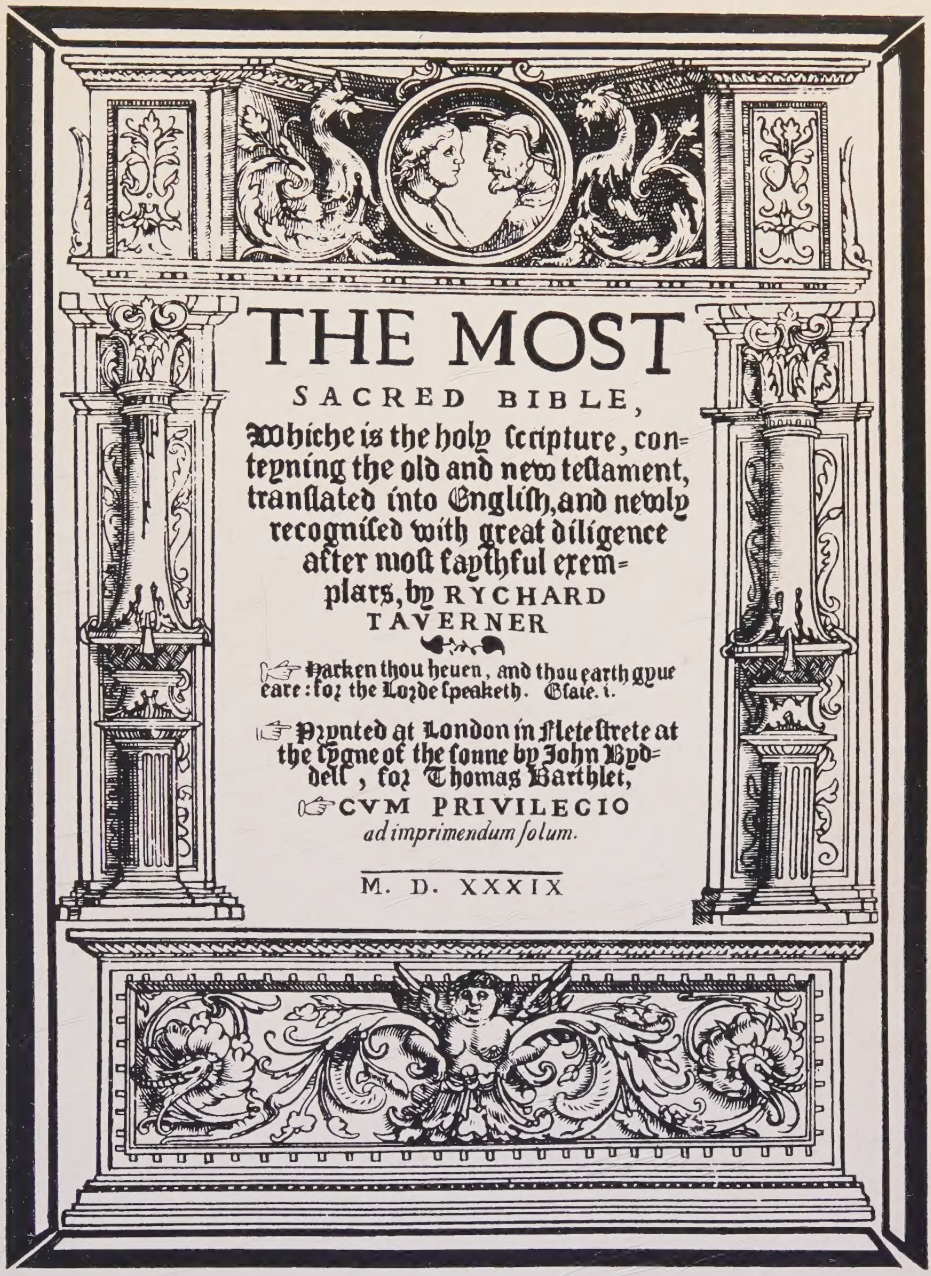
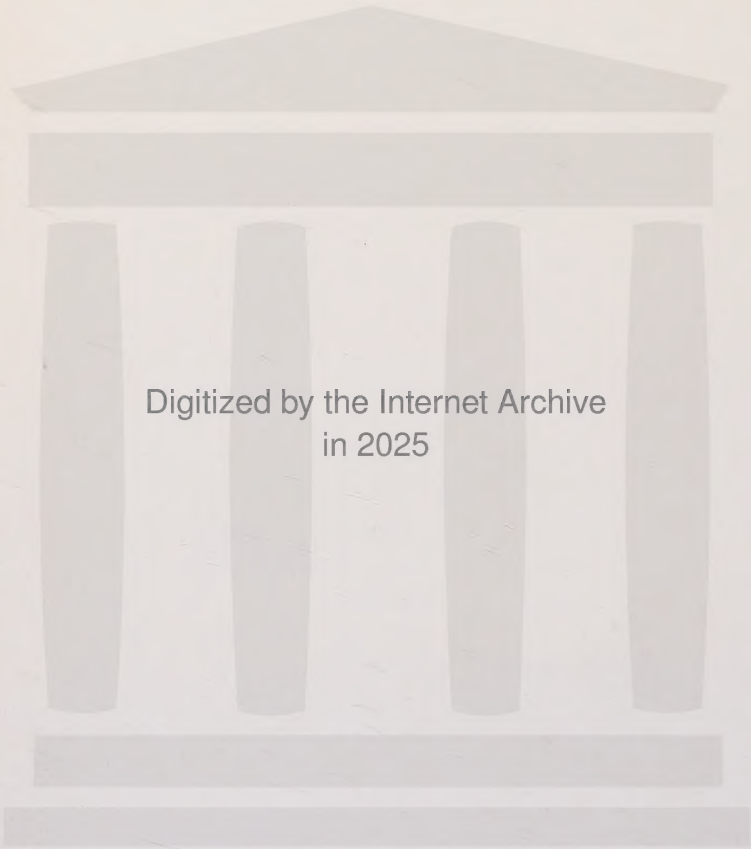

THE MOST
SACRED BIBLE,
Whiche is the holy scripture, conteyning the old and new testament, translated into English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faythful exemplars, by RYCHARD TAVERNER
Harken thou heuen, and thou earth gyue eare: for the Lorde speaketh. Esaie. i.
Printed at London in Fletestrete at the signe of the sonne by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet,
CVM PRIVILEGIO
ad imprimendum solum.
M. D. XXXIX

PLATE I

1539 Taverner Bible

Title Page


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/crozer-quarterly_1939-07_16_3

If all this and only this were true of the Taverner revision, even this would not be sufficient reason for ignoring it. Any literary work deserves the understanding of its own inherent qualities, quite apart from the question of its subsequent influence. Moreover, we shall discover that it is just not true to say that the Taverner Bible had "practically no influence on later versions." It did have considerable influence, and exceptionally wide-spread influence; for it affected alike both the most widely known and influential Protestant version, and the almost unique Catholic version as well.

Incidental to all this—but not non-significant—is the personal and biographical interest attaching to Richard Taverner himself. Politically and culturally he won for himself higher status in contemporary English society than did the other capable and reforming revisers of his day: John Rogers and Myles Coverdale. Also not inconsiderable are the bibliographical features of his early printed Bible. While it was not the first entire Bible to be printed by an Englishman in England, it was a very early and a very respectable piece of English printing, with unique features that recorded the scholarship back of it.

III. Taverner Biography

Richard Taverner was born at Brisley in Norfolk about 1505. He was a university man of both Cambridge and Oxford. After being in residence at Corpus Christi in Cambridge for about a year and a half, he transferred on invitation to Cardinal Wolsey's new foundation at Oxford, where he was appointed junior canon in Cardinal College, now Christ Church.[15] Of this migration John Strype recorded:

> After this house was built, care was taken to furnish it with men of the best parts and learning, to study and read there, and to adorn that magnificent foundation. For which purpose many scholars of ripe wits and abilities in Cambridge were invited thither, with promise of great encouragement and reward.[16]

After attaining his baccalaureate degree at Cardinal College in 1527, he was reincorporated at Cambridge, this time in Gonville and Caius. There he achieved a master's degree in 1530.[17] The most significant summary of Taverner's university career that can be quoted is the appreciative and contemporary statement of John Bale:

[15] On the vexed question as to whether Canon Taverner of Cardinal College was also organist Taverner of St. Frideswyde's see: (pro) Cooper in *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* I (1858), 338-41; (con.) Pollard in *Dictionary of National Biography* XIX (1909), 393-96; (non-com.) Wood in *Athenæ Oxonienses* I (1813 [3]), 419-24. Cf. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1846), V, 5.

[16] John Strype, *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1821), I, 10.

[17] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses,* 1500-1714 (Oxford, 1892), IV, 1458.

Dum adhuc florentis ætatis adolescens esset, Cantabrigiense gymnasium, pro linguis et artibus, ac pro utriusque iuris studio ardenter petiit: ubi omni bonorum authorum genere opulenter institutus, cumque Græcæ tum Latinæ locutionis fœlici suo labore expertus, multarum rerum noticia, prudentia et eloquentia polluit.[18]

In 1532 Taverner appealed successfully to Thomas Cromwell for financial assistance. From that time until the latter's execution, Taverner continued to be Cromwell's protégé. Also he turned to the professional study of law, at first in Strand Inn and later in the Inner Temple, presumably to fit himself for greater usefulness in Cromwell's service. It is said that on the slightest provocation he would quote the law in Greek. In 1534 he was introduced at court, and two years later he was appointed clerk of the King's signet.

Taverner's permanent reputation was mainly due to his literary productivity in the interest of the Reformation in England. This line of activity was undertaken at Cromwell's instigation in the first instance, and it continued through the rest of Taverner's career. His first published work was an English translation of the famous Augsburg Confession. By far his most important publications were his revisions of the English New Testament and of the entire Bible, which appeared in 1539. Cooper in *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* credits 23 titles altogether to Richard Taverner, including translations, anthologies, epitomes, commentaries, sermons, a catechism, poems (in Latin and English), letters, liturgical selections, etc.[19] In such prodigious productivity, the training and abilities of the author-translator gradually came to characteristic and full expression.

The elimination of Cromwell in 1540 was followed in the next year by a brief imprisonment for Richard Taverner. This was not due to his work of Bible revision, as has been repeatedly and piously stated,[20] but rather to a supposedly scandalous report concerning King Henry VIII and his divorced wife, the Lady Anne of Cleves.[21] The delay was not serious. Taverner was soon released and fully restored to royal favor.

In 1552, during the reign of fragile King Edward VI, Richard Taverner and other lay gentlemen of university training were licensed to preach anywhere in the kingdom. The social situation that demanded this arrangement was succinctly summarized in Taverner's own license, which is still extant:

[18] John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium maioris Brytanniæ . . . summarium* (Basil, 1559), 598.

[19] Cooper, *op. cit.*, I, 340, 341.

[20] J. I. Mombert, *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible* (New York, 1890[2]), p. 195; American Bible Society, *A Ready Reference History of the English Bible* (New York, 1935), pp. 8, 9.

[21] British Museum, Cotton Ms., Titus, BI, fol. 203.

Whereas ye people are ignorant through the slackness of pastors, to ye intent yt people may learne how to use themselves toward God, & us: Having knowledge of ye learning & honest conversation of our servant Rich. Taverner sometimes student in Oxenford & Cambridge, & Mr. of arts, wee have authorized him to preach in all places of our dominions, comanding all Bps. & officers of ye clergy & laity to permit him to preach; & to apprehend all yt shall interrupt him, etc.[22]

Not infrequently Taverner functioned as a lay preacher in the royal presence itself, before the University at Oxford, and in more public places. Contemporary descriptions picture him at his preaching with a velvet bonnet on his head, a gold chain about his neck, and a damask gown. Unhistorical-minded modern writers have quoted these details to prove that Taverner was a very peculiar and erratic person.[23] The point is not well taken. Taverner's preaching garments were the gentlemanly court costume for the period. The other licensed lay preachers functioned publicly in similar dress. A half-century earlier Sir Thomas More had lectured on St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei* in St. Lawrence Jewry in equally unecclesiastical attire.

The same point of view should be established regarding Taverner's literary style in preaching. A picturesque introductory paragraph from a sermon delivered in the University church of St. Mary the Virgin, at Oxford, is frequently quoted to illustrate the supposedly fantastic workings of his mind.[24] However, when this and other published homilies of his are compared with the best sermonizing of the period, such as Hugh Latimer's for example, then Taverner's style is proved to be the fine literary manner of the day, commended and exemplified by the most scholarly preachers.

When Queen Mary ascended the throne, Taverner lost his position as clerk of the signet, but he was allowed to live undisturbed in retirement. After the accession of Queen Elizabeth he refused a knighthood, but accepted the office of High Sheriff of Oxfordshire. The last years of his life were spent in his manor house at Woodeaton, near Oxford. When he died here in 1575 he was buried in the chancel of the church with much display of unusual respect. Seen in his own day and place, Richard Taverner is found to be no mere eccentric, but an excellent scholar, a cultured gentleman, and a responsible official. The offices he held and the books he published prove him to have been a man of exceptional ability.

[22] Cooper, *op. cit.*, I, 424.
[23] James Baikie, *The English Bible and Its Story* (London, 1928), pp. 221, 222.
[24] Mombert, *op. cit.*, pp. 195, 196.

IV. Bibliographical Peculiarities of the Taverner Bible

To the bibliophile the Taverner Bible of 1539 is as interesting as Taverner himself is to the historian. Even the title-page, while it is a repeat, arrests attention by presenting a combination of queer problems (Pl. I).[25]

The architectonic elements comprising the woodcut border to the title—architrave, columned piers, and base—are distinctly attractive by themselves. What distresses one about them is that they are poorly and insecurely put together. The piers are out of position, having been designed originally for a title about a half of an inch narrower and an eighth of an inch shorter than the Taverner title. For what sort of a book were these panels at first designed? From their character one would infer it was probably historical or belletristic. It is known that in 1537 James Nycolson of Southwark used these very cuts in this same rickety manner in his quarto edition of the Coverdale Bible.[26] Apparently the panels originated some time before that; but their earlier history is quite obscure.

The facing portraits in the medallion on the architrave are usually identified as "possibly Tarquin and Lucrece."[27] This tentative identification is by no means certain. Definitely against it is the absence of the fatal dagger of Lucrece. There is more to be said for Mars and Venus. In favor of them is the presence of a Cupid on the base below.

It is a pleasure to be able to reproduce in full the noteworthy single-page Dedication to the King by Richard Taverner himself (Plate II). It should be read fully and carefully. The important paragraphs are the second and the third, where the author clearly indicates his conviction that Bible revision is too huge and difficult a task to be accomplished successfully by one person in a short period of time; but requires the full collaboration of many minds working together for a long time. The whole history of Bible revision in English from Taverner's day to our own is a demonstration of the soundness of this judgment.

Following Taverner's original and far-sighted Dedication, other preliminary matters were printed, all of which were transferred from the 1537 folio edition of the Matthew Bible. The special point of this observation is that the Matthew folio stands out as the best equipped

[25] The first three plates illustrating this study were reproduced from facsimiles made by Francis Fry. Plate IV was made from the 1539 Taverner Bible in New York Public Library.

[26] Richard Lovett, *The English Bible in the John Rylands Library, 1525 to 1640* (Manchester, 1899), Plate opposite p. 105. In 1538, Nycolson repeated the panels in his regrettable quarto printings of the Coverdale Latin-English New Testament.

[27] R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson, *Title-page Borders Used in England and Scotland, 1485-1640* (London, 1932), p. 40, No. 38.

TO THE MOST NOBLE, MOST MYGHTYE, AND MOST redoubted pryncte kynge HENRY the VIII. kynge of Englande and of Fraunce, defensour of the fayth, lorde of Ireland, and in erth supreme heed immediatly vnder Chryst of the churche of England, his humble seruaunt RYCHARD TAVERNER desireth all Joye, felycitie, and longe lyfe.

HOw hyghly all England is bounde to your incomparable maiestie for the infinite and manifolde benefites receyued at your most gracious handes from tyme to time without ceasing, euē from the begynning of your most noble raigne: truly no mortal tonge is hable with wordes sufficiently to expresse, or with secret thoughtes of hert worthely to contriue: Certes, it far passeth bothe the sklender capacitie of my wyt, and also ỳ rude infancy of my tong to do either thone or thother: yea an other Cicero or Demosthenes wer not ynough hereynto. Wherfore omittinge or rather leauinge to some other the iust Encompe and commendation of your graces most ample dedes, worthy of eternall memorie, yet this one thing I dare full well affirme, that amonges all your maiesties deseruinges vpon the christen religion (therin which surely nothing can be greater) your highnes neuer did thing more acceptable vnto god, more profitable to ỳ auaūcemēt of true christiantie, more displeasaūt to the enemies of the same, & also to your graces enemies then when your maiestie lycenced and wylled the moost sacred Byble conteynyng the vnspotted and lyuely worde of God to be in the Englysh tong set forth to your hyghnes subiectes.

To the setting forth wherof (most gracious & moost redoubted soueraigne lorde) lyke as certeyn men haue neither vndiligētly nor yet vnlernedly trauayled: So agayn it cannot be denied, but ỳ some faultes haue escaped their hades. Neither speke I this to depraue or maligne their industrie & paynes takē in this behalf: no rather I think them worthy of no litle praise & thankes for the same, considering what great vtilitie & profit hath redounded to your graces hole realme by the publyshyng and setting forth therof, although it were not finyshed to the ful absolucion and perfection of the same. For assuredly it is a worke of so great difficultie. I meane so absolutely to translate the hole bible that it be faultlesse, that I feare it can scarce be doone of one or two persons, but rather requyreth bothe a deper conferrynge of many lerned wittes togyther, and also a iuster tyme and longer lesure.

Wherfore the premisses wel cōsidered, forasmoch as ỳ printers herof were very desirous to haue this most sacred volume of the bible com forth as fault lesse & emendatly, as the shortnes of tyme for the recognising of ỳ same would require, they desired me your most hūble seruāt for default of a better lerned, diligētly to ouerlooke & peruse the hole copy: and in case I shold fynd any notable default ỳ neded correctiō, to amēd the same, according to ỳ true exēplars. Whiche thynge accordyng to my talent I have gladly done.

These therfore my simple trauayles & labours, to who ought I better dedicate, thē vnto your most excellēt & noble maiestie, ỳ only author & grounde next God of this so hygh a benefite vnto youre graces people, I meane that the holy scripture is communicate vnto the same.

But now though many faultes perhaūce be yet left behynd vncastigat, either for lacke of lerning sufficiēt to so great an enterprise, for default of leasure. I trust your maiestie & all other ỳ shal rede the same, wyll pardon me, consyderynge (as I have alredy declared) how harde & difficult a thynge it is, so to set forth this worke, as shal be in al pointes faultles & without reprehension.

And thus I cōmit your most gracious & excellēt maiestie to ỳ tuicio of ỳ highest, to whose be al honour, glory, & prayse, worlde without ende. AMEN.

PLATE II

1539 Taverner Bible

DEDICATION TO THE KING

of the early English Bibles with practical aids for actual use. Not all the Matthew preliminaries were reproduced in the Taverner Bible. The Calendar and Almanac were omitted. Included were an exhortation to study Scripture, a summary of contents, a list of the books in the Bible, chronology from creation to MDXXXIX, and a brief Bible dictionary.

The order of books in Taverner's table of contents (Plate III) and at the end of his New Testament compels careful scrutiny. It records a peculiar chapter in Protestant use of Scripture. Hebrews follows the Johannine rather than the Pauline epistles; and it is followed in turn by James, Jude, and the Apocalypse. This strange sequence goes back ultimately to Martin Luther's Wittenberg New Testament of 1522, where these books not only stood last, but were left quite unnumbered as well. As his frank criticisms of them show, the great Reformer so located these four books because he was skeptical about their Christian-gospel character, and did not value them as on a par with the other books of the New Testament.

William Tyndale, in his Cologne New Testament of 1525, followed Luther exactly in locating just these four books apart at the end and leaving them unnumbered. Coverdale in the 1535 Bible, John Rogers in the Matthew folio of 1537, and finally Richard Taverner in his 1539 Bible, maintained the same sequence; yet they did not set the books off by themselves as their predecessors had done. Subsequent versions of the English Bible located Hebrews and James between the Pauline and Petrine letter collections, where we read them today. German Bibles, however, still maintain the Luther sequence.

The Taverner Bible was well printed "at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne by John Byddell." It was not a highly perfect or even a mature piece of printing. Imperfections and errors are easily detectable. But its small black-letter type was attractive and conveniently legible. It is sometimes stated that the Taverner folio "has the interest of being the first complete Bible printed in England."[28] This is a mistake. That distinction must be assigned to the Coverdale folio of 1537, by James Nycolson of Southwark.[29] Considering its very early date, however, the Taverner Bible must be rated as typographically important, and not lacking in quality.

Between the end of Acts and the beginning of Romans, the careful bibliographer discovers signature K missing in all Taverner first editions. Undoubtedly this quire was intended to contain Tyndale's famous and characteristic prolog to Romans. Taverner's rigorous editorial policy

[28] Baikie, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
[29] Lovett, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-103.

of excluding controversial notes, however, and also the official proscription of Tyndale's writings, operated to eliminate this valuable historical document at this point.

In the Pauline account of the last supper, in the middle of 1 Corinthians 11:24, the first Taverner printing omitted the vital clause: "This cup is the newe testament in my blood." Presumably it was a case of *homoioarchon;* for the next sentence began: "This do . . ." The omitted clause was later printed on a separate slip, in black-letter identical with the rest of the text, and pasted in place at the bottom of the column.[30]

At 1 John 5:7, 8 there is an important variation in Taverner typography (Plate IV). The doubtful clauses about the three heavenly witnesses remain printed in much smaller type than the surrounding text, and also parenthesized, *pace* Erasmus and Stunica. Similarly Tyndale and "Matthew" and Coverdale—be it said to the credit of their scholarship—all isolated this more than dubious trinitarian passage.

The colophon, on the recto of the last leaf of the Taverner Bible, reads: "To the honour and prayse of God was this Byble/printed: and fynysshed, in the yere of oure Lorde God, a/MDXXXIX." Appropriately this repeats verbatim the colophon in the 1537 folio edition of the Matthew Bible, with MDXXXVII replaced by MDXXXIX.

V. The Taverner Revision

The Taverner Bible of 1539 was nothing more or less than a revision of the Matthew Bible of 1537.[31] Richard Taverner himself was no Hebrew scholar, though he was a first class Greek savant. His attention was accordingly chiefly concentrated on the translation of the Greek New Testament, his revision of which was completed before he undertook to edit the remainder of the Bible. In the Old Testament about all he did was to correct the English of the Matthew Bible by reference to the Latin of the Vulgate. Here the dual need was most evident for "bothe a deper confarrynge of many lerned wittes togyther, and also a iuster tyme and longer leysure." Accordingly it is only fair to Taverner himself to form one's impression of his editorial capabilities and accomplishments from his revisions in the New Testament section of his Bible.

The longest and most conveniently accessible Taverner collation that has been printed to date is that prepared by Professor W. F. Moulton and published by Bishop Westcott.[32] It covers fourteen chapters

[30] Folio LXVIII verso.

[31] John Bale characterized it contemporarily as "sacrorum bibliorum recognitio seu potius versio nova." (*Op. cit.*, p. 598, Ricardus Taverner, XCVI.) Actually Taverner's work stands between *recognitio* and *versio nova.*

[32] Westcott-Wright, *A General View of the History of the English Bible* (New York, 1916[3]), pp. 209-11.

¶ The names of al the bokes of the Byble, and the contēt of the Chapters of euery boke.

❧ The bokes of the olde testament.

Boke.	Chapter.
Genelis, or the fyrst of Moses	l.
Exodus, or the seconde of Moses	xl.
Leuiticus, or the thyrde of Moses	xxvii.
Numeri, or the fourth of Moses	xxvi.
Deuteronomiū, or the .v. of Moses	xxxiii.
Josua	xxiiii.
Judges	xxi.
Ruth	iiii.
The fyrst of Samuel, or the fyrst of the kynges.	xxi.
The seconde of Samuel, or the seconde of the kynges	xxiii.
The thyrde of the kynges	xxii.
The fourth of the kynges	xxv.
The fyrste of the Chronycles, or of Paralipomenon.	xxix.
The seconde of the Chronycles, or of Pareliponenon	xxxvi.
The fyrst of Esras	x.
Nehemiah, or the seconde of Esdras	xiii.
Esther	x.
Job	xlii.
The Psalmes	cl.
The Prouerbes	xxxi.
The boke of the Preacher, or Ecclesiastes.	xii.
The Balet of balettes of Salomon, or Canticum canticorum	viii.

❧ The Prophetes.

Esay, or Isaiah	lxvi.
Jeremye, or Jeremiah	lii.
The lamentacyons of Jeremye, or Threnocum	v.
Ezechiel, or Jehezekiel	xlviii.
Daniel	xii.
Oseas, or Hosea	xiiii.
Joel. ★	iii.
Amos	ix.
Abdi, or Abdiah	i.
Jonas, or Jonah	iiii.
Micheas, or Micheah	vii.
Nahum, or Naum	iii.
Habacuc, or Habaruc	iii.
Sophonias, or Zophoniah	iii.
Aggeus, or Haggeus	ii.
Zacharye, or Zachariah	xiii.
Malachye, or Malachiah	iii.

❧ The Apocrypha.

The thyrde of Esdras	ix.
The fourth of Esdras	xvi.
Tobiah, or Tobye	xiiii.
Judith, or Jehudith	xvi.
The rest of the boke of Esther	vii.
The boke of wysdome, or Sapientia	xix.
The boke of Jesus, or Jesua, the son of Syrach, or Ecclesiasticus	li.
Baruch the Prophet, with the Epistle of Jeremye	vi.
The songe of the thre chyldren in the ouen.	i.
The storye of Sulanna	i.
The storye of Bel. &c.	i.
The prayer of Manasseh	i.
The fyrst of the Machabees	xvi.
The seconde of the Machabees	xv.

☞ The newe testament.

The Gospell of S. Mathewe	xxviii.
The Gospell of S. Marke	xvi.
The Gospell of S. Luke	xxiiii.
The Gospell of S. Johñ	xxi.
The Ages of the Appostles	xxviii.

❧ The Epistles.

Sayncte Paul to the Romaynes.	xvi.
The fyrst to the Corinthians	xvi.
The seconde to the Corinthians	xiii.
To the Galathians	vi.
To the Ephesians	vi.
To the Philippians	iiii.
To the Collossians	iii.
The fyrst to the Thessalonians	v.
The seconde to the Thessalonians	iii.
The fyrst to Timothye	vi.
The seconde to Timothye	iii.
To Titus	iii.
To Philemon	i.
The fyrst Epistle of S. Peter	v.
The seconde of S. Peter	iii.
The fyrst of S. Johñ	v.
The seconde of S. Johñ	i.
The thyrde of S. Johñ	i.
To the Hebrues	xiii.
The Epistle of S. James	v.
The Epistle of Judas	i.
The Reuelacyon, or Apocalypsis of Sayncte Johñ	xii.

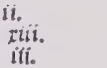


PLATE III

1539 Taverner Bible

THE BOOKS IN THE BIBLE

in the Gospel of Matthew and records about one hundred separate readings. It is, therefore, ample and inclusive enough to serve for significant sampling. The comparisons are in relation to the Tyndale (GH) New Testament of 1534—as they should be, of course. Over ninety-five per cent. of these Tyndale readings were repeated by John Rogers in the Matthew Bible that Taverner made the base for his revision.

What first strikes one about the Taverner readings is their terseness and brevity. Frequently where his predecessors used periphrases of three or four or more words, Taverner succeeded in expressing the idea in one or two words. Usually, too, he expressed it even more clearly in the smaller number of words. A good example is seen in the translation of ἱλασμὸς in First John 2:2. The Tyndale-Rogers rendering was: "He it is that obteyneth grace for oure synnes." Taverner cut the Gordian knot by a bold native coinage: "He is a mercystocke for our synnes." Similarly at Matthew 24:43 the Tyndale-Rogers translation was: "Of this be sure that yf the good man of the housse knewe what houre the thefe wolde come: he wolde surely watche." Taverner said more simply: "Yf the housholder knewe what houre the thefe wolde come: he wolde surely watche."

In relation to the Greek of the New Testament the revision of Taverner was noteworthy and mainly commendable for its greater literalness and exactness, even in comparison with the work of Tyndale. The linguistic abilities and training of Taverner here came to record to good advantage. Testing the Moulton collation with the original Greek text, reading by reading, the preference must be given to the Taverner revision for correctness in some seventy per cent. of the cases. The palm clearly remains with Tyndale for about fifteen per cent. of the instances. For the remainder, it is difficult to choose between the two.

In the matter of word usage, Taverner exhibited a certain tendency to employ Greek derivatives in preference for Latin or even sound native words on occasion. This inclination was restrained, however, and not advanced to excess. The following are examples:

parables (παραβολή) for *similituds* (Matt. 13:35)
chayre (καθέδρα) for *seate* (Matt. 23:2)
throne (θρόνος) for *seate* (Matt. 23:22)
charitie (χάριτας) for *love* (Matt. 24:12)
place (πλατεῖα) for *sheathe* (Matt. 26:52)
prophecye (προφητεύω) for *tell* (Matt. 26:68)

Recognizing the Greek derivative trend in Taverner's use of English as restricted, we shall later observe that his dominant habit was to use native English (Anglo-Saxon) words.

When it came to grammatical constructions and the relations of words in sentences, Taverner was literal to a fault. Sometimes his rigorously exact renderings came out clear and successfully, and sometimes they were obscure and disastrous. As has been noted more than once, they appear in excellent form in his handling of articular constructions through the Johannine writings especially.[33] A Matthean example, that exhibits the full distance of failure from excellence, relates to time reckoning for the Jewish Sabbath. At Matthew 28:1 Taverner printed: "In the evenyng of the Sabboth dayes, which dawneth into one of the Sabothes." Word for word and in exact sequence, this is not far from the Matthean Greek at this point; but it certainly doesn't make sense. One wonders what Taverner thought it meant.

In relation to the English language into which he was translating, Taverner's editings witness his fondness for homely, vigorous, simple, and native English words. Checking his readings for derivation in the Moulton collation against the Tyndale parallels, one finds that in the Taverner list the Anglo-Saxon derivatives are distinctly in the majority, whereas in the Tyndale list the classical derivatives (Latin and Greek) predominate. In view of Taverner's fondness for the Greek, his native English expressiveness is rather surprising. As between Latin and Greek, Tyndale shows the greater inclination to Latin derivations, and Taverner the more pronounced preference for Greek.

Here are some of the more significant Anglo-Saxon substitutions for terms derived from the Latin language in the Matthean chapters interrogated:

wickednes for *iniquite* (13:41)
ryghteous for *iuste* (13:43)
ended for *finisshed* (13:53)
helde for *counted* (14:5)
breake for *transgresse* (15:2)
come for *procede* (15:18)
soore for *pytiously* (15:22)
fyll for *suffise* (15:33)
let for *offende* (18:9)
be lost for *perishe* (18:14)
forthwith for *immediately* (20:34)
kepe for *observe* (23:3)
chosen for *electe* (24:24)
hewe for *devyde* (24:51)
everlastynge for *eternall* (25:46)
nayled for *crucified* (26:2)
forgyuenesse for *remission* (26:28)
gyltles for *innocent* (27:4)

The net result of using native diction and idioms was to give personality and vigor and vividness to the Taverner version of the New Testament. For all the reviser's mastery of classical Greek, his editing of the Tyndale-

[33] Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Mombert, *op. cit.*, pp. 199f.; Westcott-Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

hym, and he in vs: because he hathe gruen vs of his spyrite. And we haue sene and do testyfye that the father sente the sonne, whiche is the sauioure of the worlde. Who so euer confesseth that Jesus is the sonne of God, in him dwelleth God, and he in God. And we haue knowen and beleued the loue that God hath to vs.

D God is loue / and he that dwelleth in loue, dwelleth in God, and God in hym.

Perfecte loue is voyde of feare. ❡ Herein is the loue perfecte in vs, that we shoulde haue truste in the daye of iudgement: For as he is, euen so are we in this worlde. There is no feare in loue, but perfecte loue casteth oute all feare, for feare hathe vexacion. He that feareth, is not perfecte in loue.

That loueth not his brother, loueth not god. We loue hym, for he loued vs firste. If a man saye, I loue God, and yet hate his brother, he is a lyar. For howe can he that loueth not his brother, whome he hath sene, loue God whome he hathe not sene? And this commaundemente haue we of hym: that he whyche loueth God, shoulde loue his brother also. ☙

¶ To loue God, is to kepe his commaundementes. Faith ouercommeth the worlde. Euerlastynge lyfe is in the sonne of God. Of the synne vnto death.

CAP. V.

A WHo soeuer beleueth that Jesus is Christ is borne of God. And euerye one that loueth hym whyche begat, loueth hym also whiche was begotten of hym. In this we knowe that we loue the children of God, when we loue God and kepe his commaundmentes. This is the loue of God that we kepe his commaundementes, and his commaundementes are not greuous.

Faith is victorye. ✣ For all that is borne of God, ouercommeth the worlde. And this is the victory that ouercommeth the worlde, euen our faith. Who is he that ouercommeth the worlde: but he whyche beleueth that Jesus is the son of God.

IS This Jesus Christ is he that came by water and bloude. not by water onely: but by water and bloude. And it is the spyrite that beareth wytnesse, because the spyrite is the verye truethe. (For there are thre which beare recorde in heauen, the father, the worde, and the holy ghoste. And these thre are one). For there are three whiche beare recorde (in earth) the spyrite, and water, and bloude: and these thre are one. If we receyue the wytnesse of men, the wytnesse of God is greatter. For this is the wytnesse of God, which he testified of his sonne. He that beleueth on the sonne of God, hath the wytnes in him selfe. ☙

This that is ymed in ornamentes ryte suggestyt of Craftym his anticions the erthe word of Johñ, the ende of this chapytle, but ete to put ded some other.

He that beleueth not God, hath made him a lyar, because he beleued not the recorde that God gaue of his sonne. And this is that recorde, that God hath gruen vs eternall lyfe, and this lyfe is in his sonne. He that hatee the sonne, hath lyfe: and he that hath not the sonne of God, hath not lyfe.

Christ is very eternal. These thynges haue I wrytten vnto you, that beleue on the name of the sonne of God that ye maye knowe ye haue eternall lyfe, & that ye maye beleue on the name of the sonne of God. And this is the truste we haue in him: that yf we aske any thynge accordinge to his wyll, he heareth vs. And yf we knowe that he heare vs what so euer we aske, we knowe we shall haue the petitions that we desyre of hym.

Synne vnto death. Yf any man se his brother synne a synne that is not vnto deathe, he shall aske, and he shall gyue hym lyfe for suche as synne not vnto deathe. There is a synne vnto deathe, for whiche saye I not that a man shoulde praye. D ☞ All vnrighteousnesse is synne, & there is synne not vnto deathe.

By that wicked, he vnderstandeth the deuyll We knowe that who so euer is borne of God, synneth not: but he that is begotten of God kepeth him selfe, and that wycked toucheth him not. We know that we are of God and that the worlde is all togither set on wickednes. We knowe that the sonne of God is come, and hathe gruen vs a mynde to knowe hym whiche is true: and we are in hym that is true, throughe his sonne Jesu Christ. This same is very God, and euerlastinge lyfe.

Babes kepe youre selues from ymages.

AMEN.

Rogers Testament put it even more definitely into the vernacular English category than it was before.

VI. Taverner Influence

Regarding the continuing significance of this strongly characterized revision, the point should be made and stressed that the Taverner New Testament pronouncedly influenced the Rheims New Testament of 1582. Less distinctly, the Taverner Old Testament contributed to the Douai Old Testament of 1609-1610. Taverner influence was thus brought down to the present directly through Rheims and Douai; and also indirectly through the added mediation of the potent King James version of 1611. To the joint authors of this study it was an amazement to discover the extent to which this was the case. It is a relationship that merits establishment and emphatic appreciation.

When the Rheims renderings in the later Matthew chapters were collated with the Tyndale and Taverner readings recorded by Moulton, they were found to agree with the latter nearly fifty per cent. of the time; and with the former just over twenty-five per cent. of the time. One would scarcely have anticipated that. In view of the greater Latinity of Tyndale and the greater Hellenity of Taverner, one would expect the exact reverse from men who were doing their work on the basis of the Vulgate. That the Roman Catholic scholars of Rheims: Gregory Martin and William Allen and Richard Bristow and Thomas Worthington and William Reynolds, paid as much attention as this to Taverner's revision, seems astonishing at first. It should be remembered, however, that they were Oxford men. Ecclesiastical controversialists though they were, they yet recognized scholarly workmanship in translation when they saw it. Hence they made free to use a considerable proportion of the Taverner editings.

The matter did not end there. An appreciable number of Taverner-Rheims readings were perpetuated in the Authorized Version of 1611.[34] When the Moulton collation of Tyndale and Taverner was compared with the King James' revision, the latter was found to have incorporated thirty per cent. of the peculiar Taverner formulations there listed. This was an unexpectedly high proportion. The agreement with Tyndale was

[34] For Rheims-Douai influence on the King James Version consult: *The English Hexapla* (London, 1872); William Fulke, *The Text of the New Testament, Translated out of the Vulgar Latine . . . Whereunto is added the Translation out of the Original Greek, commonly used in the Church of England* (London, 1589); J. G. Carleton, *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible* (Oxford, 1902); H. Cotton, *Rheims and Doway: an attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English* (Oxford, 1855); M. W. Jacobus, *Roman Catholic and Protestant Bibles Compared,* Gould Prize Essays (New York, 1908); Henry Barker, *English Bible Versions, with special reference to the Vulgate, the Douay Bible and the Authorized and Revised Versions* (New York, 1907).

naturally higher—about fifty per cent. Most of the thirty Taverner readings apparently found their way into the King James Bible via Rheims. The coincidence of Taverner and Rheims agreements with authorized renderings was observed to be nearly unanimous; but the margin of Taverner agreements apart from Rheims was so very slender as to be negligible.

These phenomena are explicable from what we already know of the making of the Authorized Version. After the Hampton Court conference of January, 1604, and the appointment of revision committees to edit the King James version, the following rules of procedure were issued to them:

"1. The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the *Bishops Bible,* to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit.

14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the *Bishops Bible: Tindoll's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.*" [35]

The absence of both the Taverner and the Douai Bibles from the recommended reference list is conspicuous. Of course, the Douai Bible was not yet published. But the Rheims New Testament had been available since 1582. Moreover, it had been reprinted in 1589 in William Fulke's, *The Text of the New Testament, Translated out of the Vulgar Latine . . . Whereunto is added the Translation out of the Original Greek, commonly used in the Church of England.* In this form it was probably in the hands of every one of the New Testament revisers. In fact, *The Translation out of the Original Greek* included with it was ruled to be the primary basis for their own work of revision. These documented circumstances explain the established transmission of Taverner influence to the Authorized Version by means of the Rheims New Testament.

A variety of familiar passages from the Authorized Version should be quoted to illustrate the quality of the Taverner contribution to it. Of each of these quotations it can be said that, entirely or substantially, the Taverner revision of 1539 was ultimately responsible for the familiar phraseology of the King James statement. These are seven passages one would not spare from the most respected version of the English Bible:

"It is not mete to take the children's bread, and cast it to dogs."
Matt. 15:26

"If any man will come after me, let him denie himselfe, and take up his crosse, and follow me."
Matt. 16:24

[35] A. W. Pollard, "Bibliographical Introduction," *The Holy Bible, An Exact Reprint . . . of the Authorized Version* (Oxford, 1911), p. 39.

"They bind heauy burdens, and grieuous to be borne, anl lay them on mens' shoulders, but they themselues will not mooue them with one of their fingers."
Matt. 23:4

"Heauen and earth shall passe away, but my words shall not passe away."
Matt. 24:35

"I was a stranger, and ye tooke me in."
Matt. 25:35

"Hereafter shall ye see the Sonne of man sitting on the right hand of power, and comming in the clouds of heauen." Matt. 26:64

"Ye haue a watch, goe your way, make it as sure as you can."
Matt. 27:65

When one deals with the Rheims New Testament and with the King James revision, one has to do with immensely influential versions of the English Bible. Until the appearance of the current Westminster translation, Rheims-Douai was standard for English-speaking Catholics. Until the appearance of the Revised Version (1881-1885), the King James Bible was standard for English-speaking Protestants. It is still the most widely and generally revered English version. Taverner influenced appreciably both the Rheims Testament and the King James Bible.

Bishop Westcott's classic dictum regarding the Taverner Bible was as follows:

> It appears to have exercised no influence whatever on the later versions. It remains simply as a monument to one man's critical power, and in the very sharp personality of its characteristics is alien from the general history of the English Bible.[36]

Unfortunately this pronouncement is still almost universally accepted, as it is regularly reiterated. In view of the data here presented it must not merely be revised. Instead it must be completely reversed!

A Census of Extant Richard Taverner Bibles and New Testaments of 1539

I. Complete Bible, folio of 1539 by John Byddell for Thomas Barthlet (Sixteen preliminary leaves, title within woodcut border)

A. In American Collections:

Baldwin, Kansas, Baker University	Title perfect.
Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago	Title and prelims. lacking.
New York City, N. Y. Public Library	Title in facsimile.
Philadelphia, Pa., T. Edward Ross	Lacks Ggg1 & Ggg6.
San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library ...	Title lacking.
Titusville, Pa., John H. Scheide	Title border in facsimile.

[36] Westcott-Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

B. In British Collections:

Bristol, Baptist College	Title repaired.
Cambridge, St. John's College	All ll. before Bii lacking.
Second copy	Prefatory matter at end.
Trinity College	Leaves 1, 4, Nnn 4, R6-8 lacking.
University Library	Title & others lacking.
Second copy	Lacks 3 leaves at end.
Campden Hill, Sir Leicester Harmsworth	NT title in facs.
Canterbury, Dean & Chapter Library	Title to Apocrypha defective.
Howley-Harrison Library	Title has only margin.
Dublin, Trinity College	Title imperfect.
Glasgow, University Library	Title & others in facs.
London, British & Foreign Bible Society	Bound with Matthew's Bible.
Second copy	Title & last leaf in facs.
British Museum	Quires K, lv-lx of NT lacking.
Second copy	Quire K of NT lacking.
Third copy	Title cut & mounted.
Lambeth Palace Library	Title & all prelims. lacking.
Mrs. Wood	Center of title in facs.
Manchester, John Rylands Library	Title lacking.
Oxford, Balliol College	Title defective.
Bodleian Library	Remade NT for general title.
Salisbury, Cathedral Library	Title and prelims. lacking.
Twickenham, Arthur Burrell	OT title & other ll. lacking.

II. New Testament, quarto of 1539 of Petyt for Berthelet (Fifteen preliminary leaves)

A. In American Collections:

San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library	Lacks H8 & all after V6.

B. In British Collections:

Cambridge, University Library	16 leaves, 2 copies of H.
London, British & Foreign Bible Society	Title & ll. prelims. lacking.
St. Paul's Cathedral Library	.....

III. New Testament, octavo of 1539 by Petyt for Berthelet (Title and preliminary leaves unknown)

A. In British Collection:

London, British & Foreign Bible Society	Fragment of 7 leaves.
British Museum	Fragments of Mark xiii-xv only.
Manchester, John Rylands Library	Title & prelims. lacking.

THE ETHICAL BASIS OF CHRISTIAN SALVATION

GEORGE W. DAVIS
Crozer Theological Seminary

In the city of my birth two mighty rivers unite to sweep along into a mightier stream. There, at the historic "point" in Pittsburgh, the Allegheny and Monongahela mingle their waters, blending them slowly to give birth to the Ohio. Not infrequently in boyhood I stood on the Point Bridge and watched the waters of these two streams give rise to their historic offspring. The Allegheny, following a season of rains far up in the mountains, flowed from the northeast, an angry, sullen torrent of yellow water. The Monongahela, placidly streaming from the southwest, emptied its limpid green waters, fresh and deep, into the Ohio. As the rivers met they did not at first mingle, but flowed for miles within their common banks, each maintaining its identity. The left half of the Ohio was deep green, the right half a muddy yellow. Only after many miles did the two mighty waters lose their individuality in their mightier progeny.

These two rivers may be taken as a parable of Christian salvation. Flowing into the stream of Christian history there has come to us a supernatural and an ethical conception of salvation which now sweep along within the common banks of Christianity. These streams have never entirely commingled, although there has been some fusing of their waters. Some Christians prefer to sail their bark of life upon the supernatural waters, while others are more at home upon the ethical waves and eddies. Still others find their natural habitat in the middle of the current where these streams have begun to fuse themselves into a unity of life and purpose. But before we reach any conclusion as to the best place for Christian sailing, let us clearly distinguish between the supernatural and ethical aspects of salvation, discerning their relative significance for the Christian faith.

By the supernatural impulse in the stream of Christian salvation we mean whatever God's part may be in the process. This, of course, has received intense and prolonged attention throughout the span of Christian history. From the time of the first Christian who regarded the work of Jesus as purely propitiatory to those modern disciples who hold stanchly to the substitutionary view of the atonement, the minds of Christians have been concerned about the supernatural significance of the life and death

of Jesus. For almost a thousand years the standard Christian view was that God had made a bargain with the Devil. The good God delivered his own Son to the Satanic Majesty as payment for the release of men from the bondage to him in which the sin of Adam justly placed them. This theory went to the extreme of absurdity in Peter the Lombard (1100-1160), who taught: "What did the Redeemer to our captor? He extended to him his cross as a mouse-trap; he set there as a bait his blood." [1] Thus was the Devil satisfied, but, after he had released man from the bondage to sin in which he held him, he discovered he was not capable of holding so pure a prize.

This supernatural attitude toward salvation was redirected somewhat by Anselm (1033-1109), Archbishop of Canterbury. Instead of making the death of Jesus a buying-off of Satan, he regarded it as a satisfaction of the divine honor. The cross, essential to salvation, was directed not to the Devil but to God. Only in this way could God's honor, infinitely offended by man's sin and disobedience, be appeased, and the way opened to release man from the eternal punishment justly his due.

A third view reflecting this supernatural attitude toward salvation is known as the penal substitutionary view of the atonement. The Reformation exalted this doctrine, making it capital material in the Protestant view of the work of Jesus. Following closely the theory of Anselm, this conception simply substitutes the criminal or penal aspect for the offended honor of God. Here the death of Jesus is held to be the criminal equivalent of the punishment due to all sinners. God had to have this punishment for sin paid to him before he could forgive men. The death of Jesus represents the necessary equivalent.

There are other views of the atonement which reflect the supernatural view of Christian salvation; but these three suffice to suggest the tenor of all of them. They all think of God as doing for man what man cannot do for himself. Moreover, they suggest that nothing man does is of any avail apart from the indispensable activity of God in Jesus. Salvation is *sola gratia,* by grace alone. A corollary of the saving power of God is the helplessness of man. So the extreme supernaturalists have consistently affirmed that God does everything while man does nothing. Those who hold to this view quite definitely prefer to sail their barks upon the supernatural side of the stream of Christian salvation.

In contrast to the extreme supernaturalists are the ethicists. These Christians, while not denying that God does something of incalculable importance for man through Jesus, yet affirm that man must do something to render effective the saving activity of God revealed in the Galilean.

[1] "Book of Sentences," 3: 19.

He must work out his salvation with fear and trembling, even though God works in and with him to effect a Christian life. Without the production of a "Christ life" within man salvation is not effective. Such is the position of the ethicists.

Now this ethical view is not simply a modern, newly fashioned doctrine among certain Christians. Indeed, it goes back far into the history of Christianity. It had an able champion in Peter Abelard (d. 1142), who revolted against the crass "mouse-trap" extremes of Peter the Lombard. Abelard taught that we are saved as the love of God in Jesus awakens an answering love toward God in us. The love thus aroused is the ground for the forgiveness of sins. As Abelard puts it, in his *Commentary on Romans:* "Our redemption, therefore, is that supreme love in us, through the sufferings of Christ, which not only liberates from the servitude of sin, but acquires for us the true liberty of the sons of God, so that we fulfil all things from love rather than from fear of him who has shown us such grace that, as he himself declares, no greater can be conceived." In this way Christ works love in us, thereby saving us from the old, unsavory life to a new life worthy of God.

In the seventeenth century a Christian poet, Angelus Silesius, pointedly presented this view, that apart from the ethical flavor of the life of Jesus salvation is a nonentity. His penetrating lines read:

Though Christ a thousand times
  In Bethlehem be born,
If He's not born in thee,
  Thy soul is still forlorn.
The Cross on Golgotha
  Will never save thy soul,
The cross in thine own heart,
  Alone can make thee whole.

The contention of the ethicists is that there is an ethical base to salvation. By that they mean that despite what God does for us in Jesus, this is of no avail unless there is an ethical response in us. While those who hold to this position never doubt the grace of God functioning in the Galilean, they are equally certain there is no salvation apart from an ethical disposition in man leading to moral fellowship with God. Those who adhere to this view are most frequently found sailing their barks upon the ethical waters of the stream of Christian salvation.

Since the supernatural aspects of salvation have so often overshadowed the ethical, let us try to discern the source of the ethical stream in Christianity. Our thesis will be that the New Testament upholds the view that no matter what God does for man in Christ, until man responds

to this divine initiative through a morally sincere life, salvation does not become a reality.

In its broad outlines, there are four ways of salvation with which we must be familiar if we would understand what salvation meant to the various groups of New Testament Christians. These views center around the salvation concepts of Jesus himself, the thought of the early Jewish-Christian group, the view which Paul presented to the Jews and Gentiles, and the conception of the writer of the Fourth Gospel, who transformed the doctrines of the new religion in the light of Greek philosophic thought. Until we have determined what these four aspects of salvation were, we shall be unable to understand adequately the common ethical passion that links them one to another.

Jesus did not submit to the merchants, fishermen, soldiers, publicans, scribes, and housewives of his day any proof for the existence of God. Nowhere in his teachings do we find him wasting time with this. Like his Hebrew forebears, he assumed God as the self-evident premise of all reality, and upon this foundation built all else. What he did bring to men was of infinitely more worth, for he brought them his own experience of God, in all the warmth, fulness, and moral glow in which he constantly knew it. Out of his unique and unsurpassed life with the Father he also brought to his fellow countrymen the conviction that God wanted them for his sons. Around his view of God as a loving, interested Father, and his superb faith that men can become sons of God, hangs the whole salvation idea of Jesus.

Jesus appealed to men to turn to the Father God on the basis that God is vitally interested in each individual no matter how degenerate that individual's earthly condition. He cares for publicans and sinners,[2] just as Jesus cares for them. These are the lost, for through their moral disintegration they have separated themselves from a Father in whom dwells ethical perfection. Jesus drives home the interest of God in those who have strayed from the pathway of moral attainment, in the parables of the Lost Coin and the Lost Sheep. He emphasizes his meaning with the words, "Even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine righteous persons who need no repentance." God is a Father, affirms Jesus, whose great heart rejoices when his children turn from the byways of personal degeneracy into the highway of moral and spiritual endeavor. God cares for sinful men because he is a Father who longs for the fellowship of his own. This is a facet of the religion of Jesus which is as brilliant as any other, for it established in a world unaware of the value of personality an idea of the

[2] Luke 15: 7, 10.

infinite worth of every human soul to God, no matter how degraded it might happen to be in the eyes of men. It was to a Father who understands men and wants fellowship with every one of them that Jesus asked men to turn for love and redemption.

The first step a man must take if he would embrace the religion of Jesus is the step of repentance.[3] This is a prerequisite for entrance into right relationship with God, without which there is no salvation. Such repentance means a change of mind and a turning to God. A suggestion of what it implies is contained in the rhyme:

> Repentance is to leave the things you loved before,
> And say that you will do those things no more.

Jesus called men to leave the old, evil loves and turn to the new love which is found in the consecration of one's life to God. Such genuine repentance will lead a man into a life of moral communion and fellowship with the Father. It is here that we step into the very heart of the religion of Jesus. He makes the goal of human character likeness in moral quality to God himself: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." [4] He who has repented and turned to God must resemble his heavenly Father in the ethical attributes of his life. This is the fundamental demand which Jesus places upon his followers.

Jesus distills the requirement that men must become morally like God from the character of the universal Father. God is a Being in whom dwells perfect love. His love is universal, reaching down to the minutest elements in his creation. He loves the birds of the air; his loving power cares for the lilies of the meadow and clothes the grass of the fields. Because of his all-comprehending beneficence and Fatherhood, he makes his sun to rise upon the evil man and the good, and sends his rain upon the just man and the unjust. Now, says Jesus, if a man would be worthy of this universal love of the Father, he must build a similar, all-comprehending love within himself, unimpeded by the limits of time, space, or race. This is the whole burden of the parable of the Good Samaritan. To become morally like God is to enter into complete fellowship with him. This, says Jesus, is salvation.

The result of a man's becoming like God in his ethical bent is that he becomes a son of God. Too frequently the Christian religion has thought of sonship with God simply as a matter of our humanity; that is, as based upon natural creation. Jesus did not think so. Sonship for

[3] Matt. 4: 17; 9: 13; Luke 15: 7, 18; 24: 47.
[4] Matt. 5: 48.

him was a relation which a man achieves only by becoming morally like the Father. His words are explicit:

"Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; *that ye may be sons of your Father who is in heaven*" (Matt. 5:44, 45).

"But love your enemies, and do them good, and lend, never despairing; and your reward shall be great, *and ye shall be sons of the Most High: for he is kind toward the unthankful and evil*" (Luke 6:35).

Likeness to God, primarily in the qualities of love and forgiveness, is in the religion of Jesus the essential for the saved life. A man must love God—and his neighbor as himself. This is his whole duty. Salvation implies a universal love in man such as emanates from the heart of God. Furthermore, even as God is anxious to forgive men who turn to him in sincere repentance, so must men forgive those who wrong them.[5] Unless they have the moral quality in them to forgive their enemies, even as this resides in God, their Father cannot receive them.[6] These demands are simple and yet they are everything. They can be fulfilled by the spirit of man only after it has come into ardent contact with the great love and forgiveness of God. Their execution involves, in other words, an inner spirit which has been subdued and tempered by the universal love of the Father. The man who has undergone this transformation through repentance will love his enemies, pray for those who persecute him, and thus through a life of moral excellence make fellowship and communion with God a possibility. In this way he will gain salvation.

In concluding our statement concerning the redemption offered by Jesus, the assertion is in order that his salvation was simply a moral fellowship and communion with God, attainable through doing the will of God—which consists in ethical loftiness and consideration of others in all the situations of life. Such salvation is attainable right here and now. There is no need for men to wait until some future date for salvation, although Jesus unquestionably taught that in the last days the righteous would enjoy life with God.[7] No, a man by a life of moral excellence, through which he brings himself into complete harmony with the divine life of God, is a saved man; that is, a son of God. This present salvation brings men an inner peace of spirit and mind in this world, which is a foretaste of the future happiness with God. It is salvation today; not gained through rites, ceremonies, law, or supernatural transaction, but rather through an inner quality of life like unto that which dwells in God

[5] Mark 11:25; Matt. 18:21f.; Luke 17:3.
[6] Matt. 6:14f.; 18:35; Mark 11:26.
[7] Matt. 25.

and which renders possible the complete harmony of the human and the Divine here and now. Clifford Herschel Moore has stated this aspect of the salvation of Jesus in words well worth remembering:

"Jesus held salvation to be a present experience, one which could be realized at any time by any man who recognized God as his father with all which that implied, and who consequently devoted himself to a life of unselfish service. He declared that such a man had already entered into a joy and blessedness which no earthly misfortunes could disturb."[8]

What happened to the religion of Jesus when it started to spread into Jewish, Roman, and Greek lives? In broadest outline, there were three stages in the evolution of nascent Christianity. First of all, there was the development of the Jewish-Christian group within the Jewish nation, organized around the twelve apostles. Secondly, Paul took the gospel into the Græco-Roman world, removing it from its Jewish base, and declaring that it was not indissolubly associated with the tenets and demands of legalistic Judaism. Finally, the religion of Jesus passed through the fire of the Græco-Alexandrian philosophy, until its doctrines and its Christ were molded into conformity to this intellectualism. The chief exponent of this last interpretation of Jesus set down his views in the Fourth Gospel. These various developments of nascent Christianity we now seek to trace, hoping thereby to ascertain the modifications which the salvation teaching of Jesus underwent in the process.

The early Jewish-Christians interpreted Jesus in terms of Jewish Messianism. It is of the utmost significance, however, that they failed to define the Messiah in terms of the earthly career of Jesus; rather they explained him in the categories of the expected Jewish Messiah,[9] which categories were current coin in Judaism. Certainly these Messianic terms and pictures connected with Jesus are not characteristic of the tenor of his life, spirit, and teaching. The clouds, the rumblings, the earthquakes, the fear, the signs of war, the wickedness preceding the heavenly advent, and the Messiah's abrupt descent to punish the wicked and redeem the righteous, are survivals of the Messianic hope which tend to obscure Jesus' real message of moral likeness to and fellowship with the Father. This bizarre interpretation of Jesus by the early Jewish-Christian community—and to some extent by the Gentile-Christian community—surely exhibits a recrudescence of Jewish Messianism within Christianity.

Yet despite these overtones of Messianic deliverance, sometimes

[8] Moore, C. H., *The Religious Thought of the Greeks*, p. 307, Harvard University Press, 1916.

[9] Acts 1: 11; 3: 20f.; Matt. 24: 15-28; 26: 64; Luke 21: 27-33; 2 Thess. 1: 3-10; Rev. 19: 11f.; *et al.*

linked to the demand for obedience to the Law, these early Jewish-Christians did not dispense with the ethical emphases of Jesus. This is clear from the contents of *The Gospel According to Matthew,* written for Jewish-Christians. While there is some emphasis upon adherence to the Law and the Messianic return of Jesus in this document, yet by far the predominant note is the moral aspect of the religion of Jesus. To this truth the Sermon on the Mount eloquently testifies. Such material reveals that for this earliest Christian group the idea lived that a man can become a son of the Father and receive salvation only through entering a life of moral fellowship with God. Nowhere does this truth receive such striking confirmation as in the return of Paul to Jerusalem—after he had spent fourteen years in the regions of Syria and Cilicia. He comes before the pillars of the Jerusalem church to justify his gospel and have them place their stamp of approval upon it. He tells us that Titus, a Greek who accompanied him, was not even compelled to be circumcised by the Jewish leaders. Then he informs us that his gospel to the uncircumcised was approved, and "James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision; *only they would that we should remember the poor; which very thing I was always zealous to do.*" [10] Here is the ethical note in the teaching of Jesus clearly sounded forth. It is the emphasis upon a life morally in harmony with men as the only sufficient basis for a life morally harmonious with God. In the earliest Christian community this ethical consciousness lived in strange companionship with the Messianic hopes and the bondage of the Law. Yet this ethical demand was the basic requirement for Christian salvation, for not even the Law nor a belief in the imminent Christ could save an unrighteous man.[11] Indeed, the first ten chapters of "The Acts," which record the remarkable spread of the gospel among the Jewish people, give evidence in abundance that the power for moral and spiritual renewal was one of the greatest things the apostles knew concerning the gospel.

In the second stage of the development of early Christianity, Paul so greatly overshadows all other workers that we unhesitatingly isolate him as the central figure in the spread of the gospel into the Græco-Roman world. He denied the validity of the Judaistic interpretation of Christianity, proclaiming a gospel completely liberated from the legalism of Judaism, although not freed from Jewish Messianism.

The fundamental postulate of the Pauline gospel is that Jesus' death

[10] Gal. 2: 9, 10.

[11] See, as proof for such a statement, Acts 5: 1-11.

and resurrection were necessary for the salvation of man. The cross is central and it is indispensable. It is the energizing power of all Christian experience. It is a guarantee of the eternal love of God, without which man could never know the length, nor the height, nor the depth of God's affection. Consequently, as one reads the letters of Paul, the fact is borne home time and again that had not Jesus died and risen again, there could have been no redemption for man, since it is only through the cross that God has been reconciled to sinful humanity.[12] This reconciliation was initiated by God out of his great love for evil men,[13] for they, being full of sin, were impotent to make any advances.[14] God, accordingly, out of his rich mercy and compassion for men, sent his son into the world that through him he might open the clogged channels, thus reinstituting the flow of loving relationship between his abundant heart and the life of sinful man. All that the individual needs to do, now that an act of God—witnessed in the death and resurrection of Jesus—has opened the way, is to assume an attitude of submissive faith. This will justify him in the eyes of the Father and make it possible for the Spirit of Christ—or God [15]—to work in his life in productive faith. In the final day, those who have assumed this new attitude of faith toward the Eternal, and have struggled to work out their salvation along moral lines, will be completely saved.

What we have so far described is the theology of Paul. Here many Christians have been satisfied to rest, failing to see that Paul also had a religion. His religion is ethically centered. Set over against his theological thought, this means that Paul, while considering the death of Jesus indispensable, never taught that it could save a man who persisted in sin. By his sin a man negates the efficacy of Christ's redemptive work. As Paul states it: "But if, while we sought to be justified [approved] in Christ, we ourselves were found sinners, is Christ a minister of sin?" [16] Paul really has two sentences in one, in this quotation. He did not finish the first sentence, but when he came to "sinners" added a new thought. What he would say is that no man can be justified while he remains in sin. This conviction is even more clearly presented by Paul in a passage in Romans: "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid. We who died to sin, how shall we any longer live therein? Or are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried there-

[12] See Col. 1: 20ff.; Eph. 2: 14-16.
[13] Rom. 5: 8; Col. 1: 12, 13; Eph. 2: 4, 5.
[14] Rom. 5: 1, 2.
[15] Rom. 8: 9.
[16] Gal. 2: 17.

fore with him through baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we might also *walk in newness of life.*" [17] Unless this new life saturates a man, through the death and living power of Jesus Christ, that man cannot be saved. This is assuredly the fundamental stress of Paul's religion.

In Paul's emphatic affirmation that a man who persists in sin cannot be saved, we touch the bedrock of his theory of salvation. He asserts relentlessly that the corollary of redemption from sin is redemption to righteousness, for these two things are antithetical, and to be saved from one means to be delivered to the other. This is the ultimate salvation; namely, a life and character that God can approve. While no man could ever attain such righteousness through the minutiæ of the Law, yet through this new attitude of yielding faith Paul asserts that a man can become righteous before God and receive his approval: "But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ unto all them that believe." [18] This is the "new righteousness" through which alone a man can be saved. It stands at the very basis of the Pauline religion. It is redemption from sin to righteousness. It is moral deliverance.[19]

What is the nature of this new life of righteousness, made possible through God's love in Christ and man's eager acceptance of that love? It is a righteousness of the spirit, and not of the outer form, such as existed in Judaism. This is the whole burden of Paul's insistence that through Jesus we have become "sons of God." [20] And so, in Paul's mind, man is ultimately saved through moral transformation—which makes him like the Divine Father in character: "The Lord is the Spirit. . . We all with unveiled face beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as from the Lord, the Spirit." [21] That transformation from "glory to glory" means a changing from character to character, until we are like unto Jesus, who is like in character unto God. Such represents the final salvation for Paul. It is moral likeness to God. This element in his religion is just as vital today as it was nineteen hundred years ago. It is eternal.

When the Spirit of Christ enters a man—which Spirit alone makes for righteousness approved by God—it issues in a life of radiant loveliness here and now:

[17] Rom. 6: 1-4; see also Rom. 6: 15ff.
[18] Rom. 3: 21, 22; see also Rom. 4: 13; 9: 30f.; Phil. 3: 9.
[19] See Rom. 8: 14, 29; Gal. 4: 5-7.
[20] See Rom. 8: 14, 29; Gal. 4: 5-7.
[21] 2 Cor. 3: 18.

In love of the brethren be tenderly affectioned one to another; in honor preferring one another; in diligence not slothful; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing stedfastly in prayer; communicating to the necessities of the saints; given to hospitality. Bless them that persecute you; bless and curse not. Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep.[22]

But I say, Walk by the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; for these are contrary the one to the other; that ye may not do the things that ye would. But if ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, parties, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of which I forewarn you, even as I did forewarn you, that they who practise such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control; against such there is no law. And they that are of Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof.[23]

To have this kind of a life, in which the Spirit triumphs over the carnal, evil man, is, says Paul, to experience salvation, not as a future hope but as a present reality. We become God's sons now! We can experience here a foretaste of the divine glory which will come fully to the faithful in the final salvation—at the parousia. So in this life salvation emerges into a practical morality in which man is guided by the Spirit to use every faculty for the highest ends. This ethical life leads the believer into a state of moral fellowship with God, here and now. In this basic emphasis Paul is true to the heart of the religion of Jesus. This is his vital stress. It is his religious experience and faith at their heart. The cross is the guarantee of the fact that such a life of moral fellowship with God has eternal validity.

We now come to a consideration of the fourth view of the meaning of salvation in the New Testament; namely, that presented by the writer of *The Gospel According to John.* The author of this work was probably an elder in the church at Ephesus. He attempted to construct a *philosophy* of Christianity to challenge the cultured minds of the Greek world. Accordingly, he reached into Greek philosophy, drew forth the Logos idea, and laid this philosophic conception upon Jesus of Nazareth. He asserted that Jesus was the Logos; that is, the creative principle of the universe, in person. This is his dominant claim for the humble Galilean. He does not stress the cross, the death, or the resurrection of Jesus, as does Paul, but rather places his primary emphasis upon the incarnation

[22] Rom. 12: 9-15.
[23] Gal. 5: 16-24.

of the Logos in human flesh. He uses the Logos idea largely in its revelatory sense. Jesus was so thoroughly divine that he could show men the Father: "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." [24] Through the incarnation the writer of this gospel effected once and for all the union of God and man.

How does the incarnation effect the salvation of men? The predominant way is that through belief and faith in the divine Messiahship of Jesus man is brought into eternal life. This is expressly stated: "Many other signs therefore did Jesus in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, *that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ* (Messiah); and that believing ye may have life in his name." [25] If men would be saved they must accept the "light," or the knowledge which has come into the world through Jesus.[26] If they believe on him, the divine life, immutable and incorruptible within him, is imparted to them for their salvation. This impartation effects a passage from death unto life. Such believers, of whom Lazarus, for example, is one, already possess eternal life in the midst of time. "As the Father hath life in himself, so he hath given to the Son to have life in himself," [27] and so the Son has given it to all who believe in him. That is why Lazarus was not dead. He had already entered eternal life, even while he lived on the earth.

Because of this view of the attainment of eternal life here and now, through a life of progressive, personal fellowship with Jesus, the Son of God, the writer of the Fourth Gospel asserts there is no second coming or future judgment, for the simple reason that men judge themselves today through their acceptance or rejection of the light:

> "He that believeth on him is not judged: he that believeth not hath been judged already, because he hath not believed on the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the judgment, that the light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light; for their works were evil." [28]

> "He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not." [29]

By the rejection of the true light, which entered the world in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, mankind has condemned itself. Every man is either rejected or approved of God, here and now, as he accepts or

[24] John 1: 18.
[25] John 20: 30, 31.
[26] See John 1: 4, 5; 3: 19, 20; 5: 35; 8: 12; 12: 35, 36.
[27] John 5: 26.
[28] John 3: 18, 19. Contrast this with Matthew 25.
[29] John 1: 10.

rejects the light of God which has been received through the incarnation of the divine Logos, the Son of God, in the flesh.

How far a call is all of this from the religion of Jesus! If we had nothing more than this philosophic interpretation of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, there would not be much of permanent value for us in this beautiful record. Fortunately, there is another salvation stressed in this gospel which is still vital for us. Our writer remains true to the religion of Jesus, for he asserts, with an intensity greater than any other New Testament writer, that man must love: "This is my commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you." [30] This is fundamental in the salvation conception of this gospel. Unless men love one another they cannot enter into moral and spiritual fellowship with God, and hence they cannot be saved. Through such love both God and Christ will dwell in them.[31] Only through this union is moral fellowship possible between the human and the divine. It is by this great love of Jesus' disciples, the one for the other, that the world will know they are his followers.[32] It is the conclusive proof that the divine life dwells within them:

> "Love, then, was at once the warrant of their [the disciples'] hope and evidence of the new life into which they were reborn through belief in Christ and acceptance of him as the revealer of God to men." [33]

The writer of the Gospel of John holds out no hope for the salvation of the man who does evil in this life. He tells us that "the hour cometh in which all that are in the graves shall hear his [Jesus'] voice, and come forth; *they that have done good unto the resurrection of life,* and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of condemnation.[34] While this is not exactly the same emphasis, it is close to the spirit of the last judgment emphasis of Matthew 25. It declares that salvation is possible only for those who have lived lives compatible with the moral nature of God. It is an expression of the religion of Jesus at its heart.

Our conclusion must be, in the light of the New Testament records, that Christian salvation does have an ethical foundation which the supernatural cannot obviate or remove. From this has stemmed the Christian's ineradicable interest in the good life. While no Christian will discount what God has done for us in the Galilean, he should not overlook the fact that God expects a moral adjustment to his holy life. On no other basis is a moral fellowship possible between God and man. And nothing less than such moral fellowship is what Christians ultimately mean by salvation.

[30] John 15: 12.
[31] See John 14: 23, 24.
[32] See John 13: 34, 35.
[33] Moore, C. F., *op. cit.*, p. 322.
[34] John 5: 28, 29.

WHAT'S AHEAD FOR THE SUNDAY SCHOOL?

MILES WOODWARD SMITH
The American Baptist Publication Society

Our interest in what lies ahead for the Sunday school, I feel sure, is not an interest prompted by curiosity only. Many who are engaged in Sunday school work, when contemplating the Sunday school's future, feel a grave concern. That the Sunday school which we have known so long and which has rendered so significant service to the kingdom of God is undergoing change, is undeniable; and that all is not so well with the Sunday school as we could wish, is equally obvious. One very disturbing element in the situation is forced upon our attention by even a hasty glance at the available Sunday school statistics. I refer, of course, to the distressing decrease in Sunday school attendance.

The Decreased Attendance

In 1925 there were in the Northern Baptist Convention 7,696 Sunday schools; by 1935 (10 years later), the number of Sunday schools had dropped to 6,272—a loss of more than 18 per cent. Between 1935 and 1937, the number of Sunday schools is reported to have increased by approximately 1,000. Somehow I am skeptical of that figure, for I know of no promotional effort during those years adequate to account for it. For 1938, the number of schools is what might be anticipated—6,341. The curve, when plotted, is clearly downward.

The peak of Sunday school enrolment in the Northern Baptist Convention was reached in 1926, the year following the one which witnessed the greatest number of schools. A relationship between the number of schools and the number of pupils enrolled is evident, but the correlation is not absolute. In 1937, for example, the enrolment dropped off despite the reported increase in the number of schools. Since 1926, enrolment has had its ups and downs, but chiefly downs. The peak enrolment in 1926 was 1,338,202, the enrolment in 1938 was 1,039,870; a loss of 298,332, or more than 22 per cent. The enrolment curve is still dropping.

In the Southern Baptist Convention, the years 1921 to 1926 saw the greatest advances both in the number of new schools organized and in the total membership. In 1925, when the Northern Baptist Convention reported 7,696 schools, the Southern Baptist Convention reported 21,570 schools. That same year, the Southern Baptist Convention reported an enrolment of 2,536,953, as compared with an enrolment of 1,130,027

reported by the Northern Baptist Convention. Since 1925 the number of schools and the enrolment in the Southern Baptist Convention has increased. The figures for 1938 are: number of schools, 23,311; enrolment, 3,211,707. What is significant, however, is that the *rate* of increase has dropped sharply in recent years.

Dr. E. P. Alldredge, Secretary of the Department of Survey, Statistics and Information of the Baptist Sunday School Board, Nashville, Tenn., in presenting his annual report to the Southern Baptist Convention, spoke as follows:

"It seems difficult to awaken Southern Baptists to the fact that something serious has overtaken their Sunday school work. For sixteen years (1916-1932) the average enrolment gains of Southern Baptist Sunday schools stood at 79,154 a year; whereas during the past five years these gains have dropped down suddenly and swiftly to an average of 32,047. That is to say, during the past five years while the Southern Baptist Sunday schools were increasing at the rate of 356 a year upon the average (the net increase in 1937 was 607), the enrolment gains of our Sunday schools actually decreased from 79,154 a year to 32,047 a year!"

Doctor Alldredge concludes his report by asking Southern Baptists if they intend to "climb on the same toboggan and take the same downward plunge in Sunday school work which all the other great denominations have taken." With the exception of a few of the smaller denominations of Pentecostal type, all report losses. And from England comes a cry of alarm. Mr. Wilson Black, a distinguished minister of London, is reported by the press to have said that if the decline in the number of Sunday school scholars is not arrested, there may not be one left in a quarter of a century. This doubtless is an extravagant statement, but the figures are distressing. During the past year the Baptist churches in England lost 16,000 scholars; the Congregational churches, 23,000; the Methodist churches, 66,000; and the Church of England, 82,000. He states that various reasons have been suggested for the smaller attendance, but he fears that it is but "another symptom of the spiritual decline which has befallen so many of the churches."

Causes of the Decline

What has caused this decline in Sunday school enrolment? One factor certainly was the falling birth-rate. Children have always made up a large part of our Sunday school enrolment, and the birth-rate has been dropping. Public school statistics are reliable and help us here. We know that the number of children in the lower school grades is decreasing; soon the enrolment of our American high schools will begin to fall off.

This falling birth-rate is significant and it has affected Sunday school enrolment adversely, but it does not explain fully the serious losses our schools have suffered. We must seek for deeper causes, and we may find some of them in the state of mind which prevails today throughout the world.

It is not easy to characterize briefly the contemporary scene. We are living in an unsettled world—one that is changing, bewildered, disturbed, and distressed; trite terms, but true, nonetheless. A wave of pessimism and cynicism came upon the heels of the World War, and a feeling of disillusionment, of frustration, and of futility laid hold upon many. Within the last decade the situation has not changed greatly, unless it be for the worse. I doubt if we see our way any more clearly now than we did ten years ago, and to the characterization of the times already given we must add another dire word—fear. Fear of the future, and, particularly, fear of war.

Our distress has not led us, in any large numbers, to seek the Lord. We are still inclined to believe that we can save ourselves. Our confidence is in battleships and airplanes rather than in God; and for that very reason our situation is the more precarious.

Pastors everywhere are saying that there is a growing indifference toward religion in all of its organized forms. We know that there is too much moral laxity, and that too large a number of church members are unwilling to devote their time and their means to Christian work. Clearly, there must be a revival of true religion. So far as the Sunday school movement is concerned, apart from such a revival as will furnish new motivation and empower the movement afresh, the outlook appears dark.

Basic Character of Education

The most hopeful element in the situation, the one that argues most convincingly for the permanence of the Sunday school, is the wide-spread recognition of the basic importance of education in every realm of life. This recognition, of course, is not new. We find it clearly expressed in the Old Testament. The Hebrews summed up the Mosaic Law in one great verse, the Shema: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." It is significant, so it seems to me, that this summary of the law is followed immediately by a commandment respecting an educational program: "And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart: And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down and

when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates." This was formal teaching, to be sure, but the subsequent history of the Hebrew people shows how tremendously effective the program was.

This idea of a propagation of religion by the educational method is reaffirmed in the Great Commission, words attributed to our risen Lord: "teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

Our modern world has become fully aware of the effectiveness of education and propaganda, and is making the largest possible use of them as means of achieving its ends. Every advertisement is a use of the educational method for a commercial end; every paragraph of propaganda is a use of the educational method for a nationalistic end. In recent years we have seen the characters of whole nations predetermined and changed through the establishment of prescribed educational systems. Governments, today as never before, are telling people what they should think and how they should feel.

All that I am concerned to say now is that I do not see how our churches, in the face of these experiences, can ever forget completely the necessity for religious teaching. So long as there are Christian churches, either existing openly or meeting secretly in the catacombs, these churches will carry on some sort of educational program. Indeed, the crucial struggle today, and the crucial struggle that must be waged in the days ahead, is a struggle between the Christian philosophy taught by the churches and the pagan philosophy being spread by all the forces of the Antichrist.

Organizational Changes Probable

But saying that the churches will continue to utilize the educational method is quite different from saying that the Sunday school will be continued in the form it possesses today. The Sunday school is a comparatively recent institution. If we regard it as the invention of Robert Raikes, it dates only from 1780; in its present form, it is still newer. And already it has undergone many changes—too many to list, and it will undergo many more.

The term "Sunday school" is no longer comprehensive enough to include all our Christian educational enterprises. In addition to the Sunday school, we have today schools of missions, summer assemblies, camps, schools for leadership education, schools of Christian living, vacation church schools, and week-day church schools; the last-named being conducted in more or less close cooperation with the public schools. It is

conceivable that in the years to come the churches will find some one of these agencies more effective for their purpose than the Sunday school, but I do not think it likely that any one of these agencies will completely displace the Sunday school at any early date. However, the Sunday school, as an organization, is not an essential part of the program of the church in the way that the church itself is an essential part of the program of Christ. If we can find better ways of teaching Christian living than the Sunday school furnishes, we should be willing to let the Sunday school go. But until we do find this better way, we must keep our Sunday schools going full speed ahead.

During the past thirty years marked improvement has been made in educational procedures, both secular and religious. Religious education has become a highly specialized profession. It grew up in response to the conviction that if the Sunday schools could not have professionally trained and well-paid teachers, they must have at least expert supervision. The International Council of Religious Education, which continues the old International Sunday School Association, becomes increasingly an organization of professional religious educators, and does so with a consequent loss of the much-needed lay support.

This trend toward professionalism is at once an encouragement and a peril. While we must give our schools competent supervision, we must avoid the professional attitude. We must escape also the danger of a sterile intellectualism. In our leadership of the Sunday schools, we must motivate as well as supervise; that means that we must awaken again the belief that the Sunday schools afford us a great evangelistic and missionary opportunity. One of the most pressing needs is to recover for our schools that helpful interest and active participation which outstanding laymen once gave to them.

I come now to a much-debated matter. There is at the present time a strong movement which seeks to unify church activities. It would wipe out all the remaining evidences of that day when the Sunday school was independent of the church. Theoretically, this principle of unification is sound; the difficulty lies in its practical application. The unification of organization and effort, wholly desirable, must be achieved in such wise that the resulting work will be better done, not more poorly done. The unification should produce more educational accomplishments, not fewer.

This has a bearing on the so-called "unified service." In it, the preaching period is combined with the teaching period, and one worship service, usually led by the pastor, suffices for both. There is a gain in solidarity. The briefer service pleases those who are impatient to get away in their autos. Some pastors gain a larger hearing for their ser-

mons. But there may be a lessened emphasis upon the educational program, with less responsibility for it assumed by the laity. Furthermore, the pastor, for all his varied talents, is not always skilful in conducting worship services for children. My fear is that too often the unified service has been adopted, not because it is an improvement, but because it seems a last resort—an educational retreat rather than an educational advance. While the unity of the local church is important, may it not be that it will win the victory, not by withdrawing into itself, but by displaying an apostolic boldness and a willingness to engage in enterprises that are more wide-spread and more daring?

The Educational Controversy

Our Sunday schools inevitably will be affected by the controversy now raging in educational circles over the validity and profitableness of the progressive method. "Progressive education" is a loosely defined term used to include a multitude of things. It seeks to utilize the pupil's interests and makes little use of such techniques as memorization and drill. In certain quarters, however, a feeling has grown up that the advocates of this freer method have gone too far. It is proposed that each pupil be required, first of all, to master a body of really essential information. This reaction got under way in public school circles when the "essentialists," as they have been dubbed, under the leadership of Dr. William C. Bagley of Teacher's College, Columbia University, attacked the dominant philosophy of Dr. John Dewey. The battle-lines were drawn up at the meeting of the American Association of School Administrators at Atlantic City a year ago.

Anything that happens in public school circles is echoed soon in the meetings of the International Council of Religious Education, and is passed along to the churches. The outcome of this debate between public school administrators will have an effect upon our religious schools. Already there are many in our churches who would welcome an "essentialist" trend in program and text-book materials. The movement comes at a time when there is a revival of interest in catechetical instruction and when there is a demand for more indoctrination combined with a better knowledge of the content of the Scriptures.

It is fitting that we should profit in our church enterprise by whatever refinement of educational techniques is worked out by public school leaders, but we should not be subservient to public school practice. There is something in the Christian task which makes it radically different from that undertaken by the public schools. In Christian effort, all the techniques in the world will not compensate for the lack of a vital spiritual

life. In teaching the way of Christ we can and must employ methods which would seem strange in a public school. There is a communication of life which is not accomplished through the use of a formal discipline, but only through the exercise of Christian love.

So far as teaching methods are concerned, we are likely to witness considerable confusion in the Sunday schools of the future. Many professional educators will continue to advocate the more progressive procedures, and many Sunday schools will adopt these procedures in the belief that thereby they will be moving forward. But other schools, with a more static conception of religious truth, and with encouragement from the religious "essentialists," will return to the more formal and rigid types of curriculum and instruction.

The Theological Controversy

In order to be brief, I must here speak in generalities and generalities are apt to be inaccurate. The dominant mood among the more intellectual religious writers of America is somewhat humanistic; that is to say, there is an underlying conviction that man is reaching out after God. Though making many mistakes, he is working his way out of his present difficulties. Eventually, through his own efforts and with God's help, he will see the kingdom of God established. Of course, the World War and its tragic aftermath did much to shake our American optimism; but it seems to me that, though our dreams no longer are so rosy and though we see more clearly the toil and pain by which those dreams must be realized, we still fundamentally are hopeful—hopeful of ourselves and of mankind generally.

This is not true in Europe, and again I am uttering a generality. There, there is a profound distrust of man, a feeling that he is so completely in the power of sin that it is futile to expect him to accomplish anything worth while through his own efforts. They saw the World War as we did not; they suffered, and still suffer, as we have not. For our optimism, they have only pessimism. Inevitably, their religious thinking took on an other-worldly aspect. They anticipate that in the future life, or by some divine intervention in this life, they will find the fulfilment of their dreams of righteousness. God is supreme, they say, and deliverance will come from him rather than through man-made alliances and programs for social betterment.

Walter Marshall Horton's *Contemporary Continental Theology* shows how remote much European thinking is from our own. I incline to the belief that here in America the time is ripe, or nearly so, for a rapid spread of Reformation theology. There are factors against it, of course;

but if Barthianism, or some softer modification of it, should become general in America, the changed point of view inevitably would appear in our Sunday school lesson treatments.

Much depends upon whether or not the United States is drawn into a new European war. If we can escape another World War, things may go on for a time much as they are now. But if our people should be compelled to pass through a period of fear and suffering, such as Europe now knows, it is likely that our theological thinking will take on more resemblance to the European pattern. We shall observe a new emphasis upon Christianity as a revealed religion, we shall hear more preaching concerning the supremacy of God and the moral incompetence of man, and there will be less talk of social programs and more of an attempt on the part of individuals to live a moral life though beset by an immoral society.

Religion then would take on an authoritarian character which it does not have when viewed as the expression of man's best spirit. This authoritarian religion would demand, as its corollary, an authoritarian system of religious education. This would mean more dogmatism and more formal types of instruction. Whether or not this comes to pass depends, I believe, very largely on whether or not we as a nation are drawn into war.

SPENSER BYRON MEESER, D. D.

MORTON S. ENSLIN

Crozer Theological Seminary

Readers of The Crozer Quarterly will learn with sorrow of the death of its second editor, Doctor Meeser, Sunday, May 7, 1939, at his home in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. His appointment as editor, to succeed Doctor Pollard, was a most happy one, and during his term (January, 1928, to July, 1931) The Quarterly achieved distinction in the field of theological thought. Not only did he display rare discrimination in the choice of the articles he published, but he made a lasting contribution through his regular "Notes and Current Discussions." Some of these discussions took the form of surveys and critiques of articles of more than ephemeral interest in current issues of such journals as the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Forum;* others were notes and articles of his own. In them a real cross-section of his thinking is to be found.

As a theologian who stood on a broad and solid base, he deplored the popular outcry against metaphysics; he saw profound spiritual values in what he called "Philosophic Discipline," and on one occasion made telling reply to those who were "using philosophic method to make effective their tirade against philosophers." Religion "without heredity" appeared to him far removed from real religion; if it lost continuity with its own results, it became a mere temporary and isolated phenomenon, was like a plant without roots, and would inevitably wither. Yet it was ever creative; under the law of universal evolution, in which he profoundly believed, it was ever making progress. In fact, "the one infallible and unchanging thing is Change." To him this was but another term for God. He appreciated the past, but did not live in it.

Long before we had come to use the phrase, "Reality in Religion," as descriptive of that of which Crozer is in search, it was on his lips. "Reality in religion is a *sine qua non* of its worth to the individual and his fellows." Without it, "the most ideal forms of worship and service may be pure 'formalisms,' repugnant to the soul and God." At the centre of all real religion stood God: "When we shut God out, we shut ourselves in." In his poem, "The Doubt of Doubt," he concluded:

Thou real in all unreality!
Thou Soul of all our lesser souls possessed!
We would not seek Thee had we not already found,
Nor cling to Thee, if not in fact so surely bound.
For Thou, O God, art ever real,
Whom even change and doubt reveal.

For reality in religion, implying three factors—God, the individual man, and his neighbor—character was the inevitable touchstone. So in answer to the query, "Who is orthodox?" he could reply: "He is orthodox whose views of God, of Jesus Christ, of man and their mutual relations are such as lead him to love as God loves, to live as Jesus Christ lived, and to be a brother to his fellow man. The only true and adequate test of the correctness of a man's views is their result in his life." This did not imply that it made no difference what a man believed. Indignantly he thrust aside that too frequent excuse for shoddy thinking and sordid living: "It makes every difference in the world what a man believes, every difference in the development and the achieving of character. If it made no difference what a man believed, then indeed any common creed, any confession of faith would do as well as any other; but if it makes a difference, then he is in duty bound to question critically every doctrine offered for his acceptance; to determine how far it will function in his life to the one end of Christian character; to seek for what most and best will minister to this ideal and then make them the working, dynamic principles of his life. It is just because one's character and conduct are so vitally and psychologically linked to his beliefs that he should accept only such as most contribute to his ideal of what life ought to be; whether those doctrines be included in the church's creed or anathematized by it."

Thus all emphasis upon authority in religion was distasteful to him. "Goodness and religion should so present themselves, or be presented, as to win the approval and will of man. Compulsory goodness or religion enforced lose their value and all their intrinsic worth." Religion is at its best when conceived as love; it finds its ideal in a relation in which love is the primary, supreme, and constant bond of the soul to God. Thus he could end his essay, "The Religion of Freedom and Personality," with the arresting query, "Must we be sycophants or may we be fellows with God?"

This note of restiveness to external authority, the unwillingness to be confined in his thought, the equal unwillingness to attempt it for others was constantly expressed. Under the title, "Loyalty and True Personality," he referred to a question he had recently received, "Do you belong

to the Baptists, or what denomination do you belong to?" His reply was characteristic: "I do not 'belong to' any of the denominations, or to any other group of men. At present, as for many years past, I have served my fellow men and God with them all; but I 'belong to' no one save 'the One,' to whom all belong, the inspiration and ideal of my service. I am not a protestant Jesuit, and neither yield my individuality and its sacred prerogatives to any group allegiance, nor do I ask it of any other."

That was Doctor Meeser—ever the seeker, ever pushing on, never arrived.

"Though the journey may give of the goal not a sight,
I cannot stop now, there's a Love and a Light
That lures me and leads me Immortally.
Where away?"

HIS SONS, ISAAC AND ISHMAEL[1]

WALTER R. ALEXANDER
The First Baptist Church, Florence, South Carolina

In the book we know as Genesis selected verses read as follows:

(15:5, 18.) And he brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be. In the same day, the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates.

(16:11, 12.) And the angel of the Lord said unto her [Hagar], Behold, thou *art* with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael; . . and he will be a wild man; his hand *will be* against every man, and every man's hand against him.

(17:19, 20, 21.) And God said, . . And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, . . but my covenant will I establish with Isaac.

(25:8, 9.) Then Abraham . . . died in a good old age, an old man, and full *of years;* . . and his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite, which *is* before Mamre.

(25:12, 19.) Now these *are* the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son, . . and these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son:

His sons, Isaac and Ishmael!

As never before in your lifetime or mine, the eyes of the world are on that little land in the Near East we know as Palestine. Small in area, scarcely one-third the size of the state from which I come, which is itself one of the smallest states in our Union, this little land has filled a large place in the history of many generations.

Here came into being that nation that was destined to take its place along with the two other nations that have done most to shape western history. Of these three, Greece, Rome, and Israel, the Hebrews more profoundly influenced the religious life of our world than either of the others. Out of Israel came that monotheistic faith that produced three daughter faiths, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism. And from the writings of that Hebrew race came the impulse that produced three daughter literatures, the Talmud, the New Testament, and the Koran. Through the centuries this little land has been the magnet of humanity; to it pilgrims, missionaries, ministers, rabbis, priests, teachers, students, and travelers have gone from every land, and they will continue to go in

[1] Address delivered before the Alumni Society, Crozer Theological Seminary, Commencement, June 5, 1939.

even greater numbers. For the events of our more recent years have made the Land of our Lord more important than it has been for many centuries.

The blasé New Yorker may claim that the center of the world is Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, or perchance Times Square; our British cousins may protest it is Whitehall or No. 10 Downing Street, London; the disciple of Mussolini may deny such claims, reminding us that the golden mile-stone in the old Roman Forum, from which all distances were measured in the days of the Cæsars, is again the hub of this universe; but it is time that Americans, Britishers, Italians, and all others realized that to many millions of people in our day the center of this mundane sphere is Palestine, the center of Palestine, the age-old city of Jerusalem, and the center of Jerusalem that rock-crowned summit of Mount Moriah, where stands today the Moslem edifice known as the Dome of the Rock.

Indeed, Jewish and Moslem traditions allege that this rock is the exact center of the world, and that it was from this spot God took the clay from which he fashioned the first man, Adam. Such traditions do not impress us, being too fantastic, but we are impressed by the facts of history that cluster about this rocky summit. To this spot, 3,800 years ago, came the patriarch Abraham, here making ready to offer his son Isaac as a sacrifice, as we read in Genesis 22: 9. It may or may not have been the first altar to be erected on Mount Moriah, but it was destined not to be the last. For to this same spot, almost a thousand years later, came David to purchase of Araunah his threshing-floor (2 Sam. 24). Here the plague was stayed, so on the summit of Mount Moriah, where Abraham erected his altar of sacrifice, David built an altar of thanksgiving.

A few years later glory and immortality came to Mount Moriah when David's great son and successor, Solomon, stood here dedicating the glorious temple he had erected to the worship of Jehovah. Here he prayed, while on the altar were slain thousands of oxen and sheep. 1 Kings 8 has preserved for us the record.

Centuries passed. Judah, swept into Babylonian captivity, was providentially permitted to return, and Ezra (3: 12) tells us how the people set up their altar on Mount Moriah, on the rocky summit where the glorious temple of Solomon had so long stood. They wept for joy about Zerubbabel's altar of restoration.

Another two hundred years slipped away, and before the gates of the Holy City stood a new conqueror from the west. Here Josephus comes to our rescue to fill in the blanks left vacant by the Word of God. He

tells us of the dream of Jaddua, the high priest of the temple. In response to it, he threw open the gates of Jerusalem to the invader, and, clad in priestly garb, marched out on foot to meet him. Then follows the truth that is stranger than fiction. Young Alexander the Great, seeking to curry the favor of the Hebrew deity, proceeded to the summit of Mount Moriah and there made sacrifice to the god of the Hebrews, the fifth altar on this rocky crest, Alexander the Great's altar of compromise.

Days of oppression followed for Israel. Until, with the advent of the good year, 167 B. C., the Jewish patriot, Judas Maccabæus, a few thousand men at his back ready to die for freedom, won victory after victory, fighting his way through to the Holy City which he captured. There, where the worship of Jehovah had been long neglected, he reestablished the Jewish feasts and sacrifices as laid down in the laws of Moses, erecting an altar of consecration to the glory of Jehovah, God of Israel.

At length the "fulness of time" had come, God spoke his greatest Word in the person of his Son, and that Son walked the Temple courts in Jerusalem. On that summit stood a magnificent building, Herod's Temple. God's Son called it "My Father's House." A crafty politician and cruel murderer had built it, and although ostensibly an altar for worship, it was in reality an altar of vain pomp and glory, of worldly vanity and pride. Nevertheless, Herod was a real empire builder, and the gorgeous temple he erected stood as one of the most magnificent buildings of all the East. It was said by many to have been more beautiful than the former temple of Solomon, but it was destined for the flames.

The children of those who had stood in Pilate's judgment hall and cried, "His blood be on us and on our children" finally, A. D. 70, yielded their sacred city to the impious touch of the hated Roman, and some unknown soldier of Titus hurled a blazing torch within the temple. Siege, famine, fire, and pillage did their work well, and the prophetic words of Christ stood fulfilled, "not one stone upon another." It marked the end of the Jewish nation.

But it is not the end of that most interesting story of that spot on Mount Moriah both Jew and Arab call the center of the world. A. D. 135, the Roman Emperor Hadrian, whose tomb still stands on the banks of the Tiber, redestroyed Jerusalem. On its ruins he built a Roman city, named Ælia Capitolina, adorned with pagan temples and shrines. On the summit of Mount Moriah he had erected a temple to Jupiter, and on the sacred rock an equestrian statue of himself after sacrificing swine in mock worship of the Hebrew deity. It was the eighth altar erected there in the course of the centuries, Hadrian's altar of desecration.

The name of Jehovah God, so desecrated by a Roman emperor, was to be vindicated by a successor. Constantine the Great, professing to embrace Christianity, A. D. 330, proclaimed that faith the religion of the empire, and on the rocky crest of Mount Moriah he built an altar, worshiping the god of the Jews in the name of Jesus Christ. It was his Christian mother, Queen Helena, who, according to tradition, spent her personal fortune in the building of Christian churches in Palestine to preserve for all time those sites dear to the Christian world. Chief among these today are the two churches Great Britain is determined to protect from impious hand, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, built over the stable of the inn where Jesus was cradled, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, supposedly covering the site of Calvary. Constantine's was the ninth altar to be erected on this mountaintop, but the first dedicated to the glory and service of the Founder of Christianity.

Thus far throughout this drama of the centuries the sons of Abraham through Isaac have held the center of the stage. Now the hour drew near when Ishmael must come from his retirement to play a leading part. The seventh century of our Christian era dawned, and the course of history was to be changed by the birth of Mohammed. For within a few years after the death of the Prophet his Arabs were in full control of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Babylonia, and Persia. Fifty years more and they controlled all northern Africa, and were pushing through Spain into southern France. In a century from the birth of the Prophet the call to prayer was heard from the minarets of ten thousand mosques. The desert had invaded the town; the tent had conquered the castle. The Khalif Omar, successor to Mohammed, came to the Holy City, A. D. 637, bringing Mohammedanism with him at the point of his sword. That city, lying again in ruins since the invasion by the Persians in 614, was but rubbish and filth. He scraped the summit of Moriah to the bare rock and there built an altar in the name of Mohammed. Thus, just a little more than thirteen centuries ago, Mohammedanism came to Jerusalem, and the rivalry and conflict for supremacy began between the Cross and the Crescent. That magnificent building, known ever since as the Dome of the Rock, was completed A. D. 691. It was built by order of the Khalif of Damascus and cost the entire revenue of Egypt for seven years. It was erected over the rock that marked the summit of Mount Moriah, where Abraham had stood one day about to sacrifice Isaac, where Solomon had knelt in his dedication of the Temple, where many centuries later Constantine had built an altar in the name of Christ, and where (notice this and keep it in mind) Mohammed himself once stood, and from which, according to Moslem tradition, he had ascended to heaven.

To be seen to this day are finger-prints in the rock, finger-prints of the Angel Gabriel, caused in the following manner: as Mohammed was translated to heaven from this rock, seated on the back of his faithful steed, El Borak, the rock started to follow him and had to be restrained by Gabriel!

Thus the holy sites of Christianity passed into the hands of the followers of Mohammed. From that day to this, save for a brief period in the time of the Crusades, the summit of Mount Moriah, where the name of Jehovah was revered through the centuries and where later the feet of the Son of God had walked, has reechoed to the call of the muezzin from tapering minarets, calling the faithful to prayer.

The "faithful," however, to the Christian nations of Europe, were dogs and infidels. Hatred, prejudice, and ignorance made of those nations a tinder-box, and into it Pope Urban II hurled the firebrand that we know as Peter the Hermit. In a little while the roads to Palestine were thronged by Christian knights who shouted as they rode, "Deus Vult"—"God Wills It!" Bent on the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the hand of the infidel, these soldiers who marched beneath the banner of the Cross swept through Palestine in the closing years of the eleventh century, and captured Jerusalem. But the record of intolerance and cruel hate they left behind does not reflect credit on the religion they professed. Indeed, for one full week the streets of Jerusalem ran red with Moslem blood, men, women, and little children being put to the sword in recurring waves of religious frenzy. The Temple area saw ten thousand slaughtered after the city had surrendered. Finally peace settled down again where had been the scenes of carnage. The Moslem building crowning Mount Moriah was converted into a Christian church named "Templum Domini," the rock itself being surfaced with marble, a high altar was erected, and once again the name of Christ was worshiped on the summit of Mount Moriah.

This Christian state was not long to live, however. The sons of the desert, swept along by whirlwinds of vengeance, descended on Palestine beneath the banners of the mighty Saladin from Damascus. The Horns of Hattin, that once had listened to the voice of Jesus, saying, "Blessed are the peacemakers, . . they shall be called the children of God," heard the cries of dying Crusaders that day in 1187 when here they met their Waterloo at the hands of Saladin. A worthy foe in battle, he proved himself a gracious conqueror when the tides of conflict had carried him into full possession of that disputed land. The Christian church on the summit of Moriah became again a Moslem mosque, and greatly restored and beautified by the loving touch of skilled artisans from every corner

of the Moslem world, it took front rank at once among the world's architectural gems. Since that day, more than 750 years, this spot on earth that had seen more of the drama of human history than any other spot, a place forever sacred to three of the world's great religions, Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity, has remained the property of but one of them, and still reechoes daily with the call to prayer from near-by minarets.

This detailed recital of history I have brought to your attention not solely because of its interest (surely it is a tale to draw old men from their chimney-corner and young men from their play), but because I deem it necessary that we appreciate this background of history if we would understand the situation existing in Palestine these latter years.

Holy ground to Christian, Jew, and Moslem is the summit of Mount Moriah in Jerusalem, commonly referred to as the Temple Area. To the Christian, regardless of creed or nation, the entire land of Palestine is dear. It speaks to him in the language of the New Testament as well as that of the Old. He has no desire to possess it, but is anxious lest those sites and shrines so dear to every Christian heart be profaned, perchance destroyed. The hills of Judea may be barren, but the eye of the Christian sees them pressed by the feet of the Man of Nazareth. His tears made forever sacred the Garden of Gethsemane, his blood gave a glory to Calvary, and the Temple Area once bore on its crest that beautiful building of Herod which the Son of God called "My Father's House."

But the Jew thinks of the land as his. It was his first, his for many centuries, and (what he cannot forget) his by promise as well. Was not Abraham his father? Was he not of Isaac, the son of promise? After all the vicissitudes of the centuries, he feels no one has a better claim to the land than he.

While to the child of the desert it is equally sacred. Is he not the descendant of Abraham also, through the son of the bondwoman, Ishmael? Did not his fathers live here through many centuries when Israel lay scattered to the four winds? Did not Mohammed ascend to Heaven from the very rock that crowns the summit of Mount Moriah? Did he not say that one prayer prayed here was far better than a thousand prayers prayed elsewhere? And when the Prophet returns to earth again, is he not to stand with one foot planted on Mount Moriah and the other resting on the Mount of Olives? And are not the faithful dead who lie buried in the intervening Valley of Jehoshaphat the first to rise in the resurrection? Such, at least, are Moslem convictions!

For many years they have glared at one another in that little land, the Jew and the Arab. The Arab gave the Jew to understand that he

was not welcome in the Temple Area at all; he forbade him entirely to place his foot within the Cave of Machpelah at Hebron, where rest the ashes of the patriarchs and their wives. All the while he has resented that Jewish institution known as the "Wailing Wall," and time and again in recent years blood has been shed there in spite of the pacing British sentries authorized to maintain order. The Wailing Wall is a portion of the outer wall of the Temple Area, at this point sixty feet high, with the great stones that form the lower courses dating from the Temple of Herod (some even claim they remain from the days of the Temple of Solomon). Here every Friday afternoon for the past few centuries—no one seems to know just when the custom arose—devout Jews, wailing the lost glory of Israel, come to pray, calling down the wrath of God upon the enemies of Israel, with some very uncomplimentary things said to the Lord about the Arabs. This appears to us to be a very poor way to pray for the peace of Jerusalem, but Arabs outnumbered the Jews ten to one, and Turkey, the "sick man of Europe," held sway over both factions, so the situation did not become acute until the outbreak of the World War.

With the World War came the events that have now brought to a head this age-long antagonism between Jew and Arab, and have made Palestine the powder-keg of the Near East. At the very outset of the war it became apparent to Britain that the safety of the Suez Canal must be guarded at all costs. Turkey had joined the conflict on the side of the Central Powers, Germany and Austria. Egypt had long been regarded as the "halfway house" of the British Empire, midway between England and India. The Suez Canal, bordering Egypt and but a "stone's throw" from Palestine, the "jugular vein" of the British Empire, was entirely surrounded by Arabs, many of them at least under the domination of Turkey. How acute the danger to the canal was shown by a very alarming although unsuccessful attack upon it early in 1915. Manifestly the most promising plan of canal defense lay in securing the aid of the Arab tribes of Arabia and the land lying east of the Jordan, known as Transjordania, who, though they were Moslems like the Turks, were not at all disposed to an all-Moslem holy war against the Allies. So enters the picture that colorful figure known to the world today as Lawrence of Arabia. British, but speaking Arabic like a native, he organized the Camel Corps of the desert. So doing, he enlisted the military strength of the Arab tribes scattered from Mount Sinai to Bagdad, east of the land of Palestine, gave material assistance to Allenby in his campaign against the Turks in Palestine, and did much to make possible the taking of Jerusalem on December 9 of the year 1917. The Turks, who had controlled Palestine for four hundred years, were driven out, and the Holy

Land came into the hands of Great Britain. But a price had been paid! The British High Commissioner for Egypt, acting for the Crown, had made a definite agreement through Lawrence with the leaders of Arab forces, giving to these scattered Arab tribes, should they unite under one governmental head, all the land surface to the Taurus Mountains on the north and from the Mediterranean Sea east to the highlands of Persia. The Arabs understood very definitely that this would include the independence of Palestine.

Therefore there was great rejoicing in Jerusalem when Allenby walked into the city, its conqueror and deliverer in the eyes of the Arabs. Indeed, his very name fell upon their ears with singular force. An Arab prophecy seemed to be fulfilled. "Allenby" to them sounded much like two Arabic words, "Allah" (God) and "Neby" (prophet). Allenby's march from Egypt into Palestine had proceeded as rapidly as the engineers had been able to lay the railroad and by its side the pipe-line bringing water from the Nile into the desert, at the rate of about twenty miles per month. And the prophecy referred to was to the effect that "when the waters of the Nile flowed into Palestine the prophet (al Neb) from the west should drive the Turks from Jerusalem!"

To the people of the Holy City he was the twentieth-century prophet of God sent to deliver them from the Turkish yoke. Jewish and Arab joy knew no bounds. Arab leaders everywhere were frenzied with excitement; their independence of the Turkish rule was now a fact. The dreams of Arab nationalism were about to be realized. For years they had aspired to the rebirth of an Arab state. Some among them had long dreamed dreams of a Pan-Arabia that would include Egypt, Sinai, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and other sections of the Near and Middle East, not even excluding the Oriental and North African hordes from their scheme of a world federation of Arabian peoples.

They were conscious of a great past. Once Arab teachers had transmitted to the then unawakened world of Europe the knowledge of the ancient classics of Greece and Rome. Arab scholars had studied Aristotle, Archimedes, and Galen in the schools of Bagdad and Cairo, and, with the assistance of learned Jews, handed on this culture to the Moorish universities of Spain, for, as already pointed out, they were the enlighteners of Europe during its so-called "Dark Ages." Mathematics came to new values in Arabic hands. The nine numerals we all use today were the Arabic adaptation of the mathematical signs originating in India, and they relieved the world of the incubus of the Roman notation. An Arab, Al Geber, devised the mathematical science that bears his name (and, incidentally, caused some of us so much trouble in high school and col-

lege). Arab astronomers invented instruments and calculated the orbits of stars six centuries before that science became known in Europe. The Arabic culture of the court of Haroun-al-Raschid at Bagdad far surpassed that of his European contemporary, Charlemagne, at Aix-la-Chapelle. An Arab proverb declared that "the ink of the learned is as precious as the blood of the martyrs."

When the Mongols under Genghis Khan and Tamerlane swept down on this world of Arabic culture, they destroyed its structure, but they yielded to its spell. These wild tribes from Turkestan took over the speech, the civilization, and the religion of the people they conquered. The Turks became Moslems and adopted the Arabic language and customs. The Turks in two centuries adopted the arts and refinements of the Arabs, and all over the region where once the Semitic races held sway, Arabic is today the prevailing speech, spoken by Moslems, Jews, and Christians alike. It is a living tongue, with all the characteristics of daily conversation, public address, journalism, and books which form one of the most extensive literatures in existence.

In the light of this brilliant past, the Arab of a generation ago dreamed of a national rebirth. Little wonder he hailed his promised independence with joy and struggled to attain it. But his joy was not without alloy; the Britisher who had promised him his independence had also promised the land to someone else!

It is too long a story to retell here, and is too familiar to warrant repetition, the story Lloyd George tells in his war memoirs, the story of the part a Jewish chemist in an English university played in the winning of the war, and the subsequent Balfour Declaration, published in the fall of 1917, just five weeks before Allenby marched into Jerusalem. That Declaration gave the Jews to understand that, if the experiment of establishing a Jewish National Home succeeded and a sufficient number of Jews went to Palestine, the National Home might develop in course of time into a Jewish State. That Declaration read as follows: "His Majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The British government reaffirmed its position with regard to this Declaration through the public utterances of Lord Curzon, in 1919; through the Colonial Secretary to the High Commissioner for Palestine in 1923, and the Colonial Secretary in 1924. It was, moreover, the prin-

cipal condition on which Great Britain accepted Palestine as a mandate at the hands of the League of Nations. The Declaration, substantially as originally made by Balfour, was approved in succession by France, Italy, Japan, and the United States. In utter frankness to the Jews, it must be said that this Declaration held out to them not only the encouragement to return to Palestine, but offered them actual assistance in enabling them to work out the problems of their restoration. Consequently, accepting the promise as a serious declaration and fully trustworthy, the Jews took a new hold on their dream of the ages, and dedicated themselves to a realization of their perennial hope. Their success thus far has been phenomenal in spite of the greatest obstacles and most disheartening conditions.

Jewish immigration to Palestine, a tiny rivulet for many, many years, became a good-sized stream with the close of the World War, and since the Jewish persecutions in Central Europe these latter years, it threatens to become a mighty torrent that will sweep all else before it. The Moslem population has been increasing normally through the years, about a fifty per cent. increase in the past twenty years, sanitary conditions being so improved by Great Britain that the death-rate has been greatly lowered, whereas on the other hand the Jewish population has increased almost three hundred fifty per cent. Already it is approximating fifty per cent. of the Arab population, whereas the ratio stood before the war at ten to one. Furnished with money from many lands, these Jewish colonists have purchased from the Arabs their best lands, until today they control two-thirds of the Plain of Esdraelon, fully one-third of the upper Jordan Valley, and a half of the Plain of Sharon, in addition to large holdings in the Plain of Philistia and widely scattered communities everywhere.

Through the years of depression in this country and most of Europe, Palestine's banks were bursting with money; no one who would work had to seek employment, for labor was scarce, and everywhere the little land was taking on new life. The all-Jewish city of Tel-Aviv, ancient Joppa's next-door neighbor, grew from a village on the seashore sand to a city of 125,000, with fine boulevards, excellent schools, ultramodern homes, and every evidence of progress. Throughout the countryside are scattered 3,400 Jewish industrial and handicraft establishments, employing more than 25,000 people, representing capital invested of more than 28 millions. In 1913, last year before the war, 900,000 cases of oranges were shipped from Palestine to European ports; in the last few years the total has gone beyond the six-million mark. Neglected plains and valleys, reclaimed by irrigation and artesian water supply, have been made to blossom like the rose. Educational institutions from kindergarten to the

great Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, have arisen, with the language of David, Isaiah, and Jeremiah being taught in every one of them. The transformations one sees in Palestine today are among the wonders of our age. It has been a miracle of creative love, brought to pass by the toil of the sons of Isaac who have gone there from unfriendly lands to wrest from the soil of their fathers a national homeland where they might live at peace.

A home they have found, but not peace. The Zionist colonies and the fast-increasing Jewish population, the Arabs have watched with alarm. They see the day, not far distant, when the Jew will hold the balance of power in their ancient land, and they have decided they must wait no longer before they act.

The past few years have seen them pressing Britain for a fulfilment of her war promises that will make for an independent Arab State, while the more rabid amongst them, unwilling to await the slower processes of orderly government, have resorted to all manner of terrorism. At the same time, unexpected persecutions in all Central Europe have tended only to accelerate the rate of Jewish immigration to Palestine, increasing the tension there to the breaking-point. The last three years have seen the country in a state of rebellion.

The Promised Land has been too much promised, and a situation created that seems to offer no peaceful solution. Even the seasoned international diplomats in London have been finding themselves at a loss how to proceed. For a number of years Johnny Bull has been carrying water on both shoulders, but now with an Arab tugging at one sleeve and a Jew at the other, water is spilling from both buckets.

Adding to his predicament are the threats of Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean. Having taken Ethiopia, Italy now has both military and naval bases on the Red Sea. Her air power makes very questionable the value of Malta, England's naval base off Italy, in event of war. England's freedom in the Mediterranean must now depend almost entirely upon her control of the Suez and the coast of Palestine. The modern seaport of Haifa offers Britain a potential naval base, serving at the same time as the western terminus of Britain's overland and air routes to India, as well as the terminus for the great oil-line from Iraq.

For several months now a rumor has been rife on the streets of Jerusalem that Italy has been making overtures to the Arabs. Repeatedly it has been said that a powerful radio station at Bari, southeastern Italy, has been broadcasting short-wave programs to the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Near East, while radio receiving-sets, tuned to pick up this one station only, have been smuggled by Italian agents across the borders

into Transjordania and there distributed at no cost among the Bedouin. Surely a bid for Arab friendship on the part of Italy that Britain cannot overlook! That she has decided to hold the good-will of the Arabs is the one logical conclusion we can draw from her decision of less than three weeks ago.

On May 17 last her "White Paper" was made public. Within the next ten days it was successfully pushed through Parliament, although it was carried by a very small majority, being bitterly attacked by leading statesmen of Britain. Lloyd George, Prime Minister when the Balfour Declaration was made, and Winston Churchill, Colonial Secretary in the early days of the Palestine mandate, made much of the alleged scrapping of "solemn engagements" and derided official attempts to deny that the Balfour Declaration had not been violated. This latest policy looks toward the establishment within ten years of an independent Palestine State, dominated by Arabs and bound commercially and strategically with Britain. It permits 75,000 more Jews to enter Palestine in the next five years, but thereafter Arab permission will be necessary for Jews to enter, it being the aim of the government to give to the Arabs of Palestine a population supremacy over the Jews of a two-to-one ratio.

The very day after this decision was published the blue and white banner of Zion, bearing the star of David, was borne in mournful procession through the streets of Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv. Hundreds of thousands of Jews throughout the world, including a number of prominent American rabbis, have already protested against what they term Britain's betrayal of trust and her evident lack of moral courage in this hour of Jewish persecution. But the extremists among the Arabs are also protesting; it is evident the government's decision pleases neither the one side nor the other.

The Jew in Palestine, dreaming of a national homeland and a future Jewish state, asks of the world: "What has my race done to deserve the world's hate? Where can we go, if not to our own land?" On the other hand, Christian Arabs in Palestine continually ask: "Do the English people think that God intended atheists to come back to the Promised Land? In these Jewish colonies round about us are many who openly scoff at God. Why should we sit down and see our country bought up by Jewish communists?"

But no one offers a solution. Nor do they dare to forecast the future. Some Zionists see their dreams shattered, at least for the present, while others are so openly pessimistic about the future as to feel that the sad words of their own poet, Bialik, are soon to be realized.

Around the last dead slave, maybe tonight
The desert wind and desert beast shall fight—
Beyond the howling desert with its sand
There waits beneath the stars the Promised Land.

Then, too, in the Christian nations of the world are many who so interpret various Bible prophecies as to hear even now the rumble and roar of guns, and the tramp of marching millions over the Plain of Megiddo.

Only one thing appears certain to this writer, and that is that the one solution for the troubles of Palestine is the "solutio Christi." His sons, Isaac and Ishmael! They came together to bury their aged father in the Cave of Machpelah. They have never cooperated with a one hundred per cent. cooperation since that day. If somehow they could be brought together again, this time to bury their hatreds, their religious prejudices, and their racial animosities—and, yes, their respective religious faiths in the empty tomb of the Son of God! That is the supreme need of that little land today. Christ has not had a chance in the land of his birth since the early centuries. The Christian churches there today are overshadowed by synagogues and mosques. The preacher of evangelical truth is like one crying in the wilderness; yet there are always some who will hear. My own soul thrilled at the privilege of preaching in our Baptist church in the city of Jerusalem, and an eager and seemingly appreciative group of Arabs and Jews listened to the message of the love of God in Christ as the burden of my heart in that hour was interpreted by the fine Christian Arab who stood by my side in the pulpit. We were within a mile of Calvary! I assure you the preacher did his best to bring both groups of his listeners to the foot of the cross.

Still stalks the water-boy through the streets of Jerusalem, crying, "Ho, the gift of God, the gift of God," and housewives come to buy in that land where water has always been so scarce. But they have no eyes to see that One who stands by life's roadside saying, "If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith unto thee . . , thou would'st have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water." But they cannot believe when they have not heard, nor can they hear without a preacher, nor can they preach unless they be sent. Surely to the Christian world today the Spirit of Palestine speaks as follows:

The strings of camels come in single file,
Bearing their burden o'er the desert sand.
Swiftly the boats go plying on the Nile—
The needs of men are met on every hand,
But still I wait
For the messenger of God who cometh late.

I see a cloud of dust rise on the plain.
The measured tread of troops falls on my ear.
The soldier comes, the empire to maintain,
Bringing the pomp of war, the reign of fear.
But still I wait
For the messenger of God who cometh late.

They set me watching o'er the desert drear,
Where dwells the darkness, as the deepest night:
From many a mosque there comes the call to prayer,
I hear no voice that calls on God for light.
But still I wait
For the messenger of God who cometh late.[2]

One night, never-to-be-forgotten, I stood fully two hours on the summit of the Mount of Olives. Facing the east, where the mountain falls away toward Bethany and the deep gorge of the Jordan Valley, I watched for the full moon to rise over the hills of Moab. A faint flush, like that of the dawn, shimmered over Nebo. Then in silvery splendor the full-orbed moon peered over its summit and down into the gorge where the serpentine river pours its flood out daily into the Dead Sea. Behind me the City of Jerusalem lay in the robes of night, and would until the moon had climbed high enough in the heavens to cast her spell over the shoulder of Olivet.

When at last she did, I turned to face the west to watch those moon-beams chase the night out of the Valley of the Kedron, and touch the minarets and towers of the Holy City. Finally, the Temple Area just before me lay bathed in the beauty of that moon-lit night, and there seemed to pass before me the panorama of history this spot had witnessed in the past. Surely no other spot on earth has witnessed greater glory, nor suffered deeper humiliation.

And One came to stand again where he had stood in the long ago with his disciples. His arms were stretched out toward the city, and his face yearned with tender entreaty as fell from his lips words I had heard before, but now with new significance, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! . . thou knewest not the time of thy visitation!"

[2] Author unknown.

BOOK REVIEWS

JESUS AND THE EDUCATIONAL METHOD. Luther Allan Weigle. New York: Abingdon Press. 1939. Pp. 128. $1.00.

WHEN I finish some books I put them on the shelf with the fair possibility that I may never open them again. They have made their brief contribution to my mind and for me have served their purpose. It was otherwise with *Jesus and the Educational Method.* This book was sent me to review with the request that I afterward give it to a certain library. This I did and then went out to buy a copy for myself! And instead of filing it with other current books, I am keeping it before me for further study.

"A searching criticism of the apocalyptic reading of the life of Jesus" is a fair statement. Dean Weigle has made an excellent case for the thesis that Jesus primarily used the educational method, as over against some other theses of the day. The book may be termed a study in methodology. In the light of his avowed purpose, the author has finely interpreted incidents in Jesus' life and given new meaning to many of his teachings. Weigle's analysis of the factors and elements present in the Triumphal Entry, for example, is especially enlightening.

The four chapter headings: "The Denial that Jesus was a Teacher," "The Call to Repentance," "The Kingdom of God," and "The Gospel and the Educational Method," are less suggestive and thought-provoking than the material they contain.

V. CARNEY HARGROVES.

HYMN INTERPRETATIONS. Charles C. Washburn. Nashville: The Cokesbury Press. 1938. Pp. 119. Bound in paper, $0.40.

THE author deals with eighty-eight hymns, which I should rate of "the better type," or indeed the great hymns. The list includes both old and new; among the latter are: "Are Ye Able, Said the Master," by Earl Marlatt; "I Know Not How," by Harry Webb Farrington; "Rise Up, O Men of God," by William Pierson Merrill; "God of Grace and God of Glory," by Harry Emerson Fosdick; "Awake, Awake to Love and Work," by G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, the beloved "Woodbine Willie," of the front-line trenches; and "Heralds of Christ, Who Bear the King's Command," by Laura S. Copenhaver.

Doctor Washburn not only tells the story of the writing of these eighty-eight hymns—and in most cases the story of the origin of the tunes also—but what is rather more important, he interprets them with delicate touch and rare insight—just the manner in which the pastor would like to do it.

Two indices, one alphabetical, the other topical, add not a little to the ready use of the book.

W. R. MCNUTT.

THE GROWTH OF LINCOLN'S FAITH. Harlan Hoyt Horner. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1939. Pp. 176. $1.50.

BECAUSE the goodness of Abraham Lincoln matched his greatness, there has been persistent effort on the part of various religious bodies to claim him as an adherent.

No conclusive evidence has been found that he ever made a "public religious profession" or united with any church, yet there is abundant proof that he came to be a deeply religious man, with a "sublime faith in Divine Providence."

The author, who is well known in the field of public education, is especially qualified for his task. For a quarter of a century his hobby has been the collection of a Lincoln library and the study of everything he could find concerning the religion of the martyred President.

Of the five chapters of the book, the first four are devoted to the life-story of Lincoln, told in a most interesting way, and giving especial attention to his personal contacts with Christians, the church, the Bible, and religion in general. In spite of these contacts, "at fifty-one he was still self-sufficient, still meeting the trying problems of his life without known reliance upon his Maker." His convictions and habits of life might well be called "Christian," but he had not yet reached the point of publicly acknowledging his need of dependence upon God.

In 1860 he was elected President of the United States. This brought about such an "unmistakable change in his attitude" that the author feels justified in giving the final chapter of his book the title, "The Sublime Faith of the President." The chapter is filled with evidences of this change: his letter of acceptance, public utterances, proclamations of fast and Thanksgiving days, messages to Congress, personal and official correspondence, and the statements of his friends. These give good ground for the closing sentence of the book, "The faith of the President was sublime."

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

RETHINKING RELIGION. John Haynes Holmes. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 249. $2.25.

THIS is not a product of the seclusion of the philosopher's study, but comes from the brain and heart of one who for thirty years has been facing the issues of life as pastor of "The Community Church of New York"; and who, in the midst of his activities as preacher, editor, and leader of important social movements, has taken time to think through the serious problems faced by religion today.

The writer presents two conceptions involved in his own attitude: "The first is that religion is not to be confused with the supernatural, and therewith degraded into superstition; rather is it to be identified with the natural, and therewith exalted as the crowning element of men's experience on earth. The second is that religion is not to be thought of as a special type of experience, separate and apart from the normal life of man, but recognized and revered as the suffusing spirit which quickens and irradiates the whole."

The chapter on "What is Religion?" includes definitions by Einstein, Whitehead, and Dewey, and affords the author occasion to present his own definition: "I would define it," he says, "as a mysterious and mystic impulse working within us to make us greater than we are, and the world through us better than it is; to lift us to levels above the low ranges of physical appetite and satisfaction; to drive us to goals beyond the prudential bounds of time and sense. Religion belongs distinctively to man not because he can think and speculate, build churches and rear altars, but rather because he can sense the whole of life, catch vision of the ideal in things real, and is willing to give his life to fulfilling this vision among men. To be compelled to serve an ideal cause by a conviction of its enduring value not

merely for ourselves but for humanity and its high destiny upon earth—this is religion."

Since Doctor Holmes regards the function of religion as fundamentally social, he insists that its task is to overcome social ills and establish the "ideal community, the kingdom of God or commonwealth of man." As living representatives of such religion, he presents Schweitzer, Kagawa, and Gandhi, whom he regards as "in every high spiritual sense the greatest men of our time, and without question its truest saints."

The church, as at present organized, is believed by the author to have outlived its usefulness. It has no place now as an end in itself; its creeds are discredited, its sectarianism seen to be suicidal; its functions of education, charity, and healing have passed to other hands; it is no longer the chief source of inspiration for the fine arts; and its control of human life from birth to death has been lost. At the same time he insists that there is imperative need of a new church, to embody and make effective this "modern idealistic religion." This "true church of our time" must be *undenominational, public, free, social,* and *democratic.* This church will preach its ideals, train its adherents in the practice of religion, wage an unceasing fight for human, social, and economic freedom. In its own life at least it will conform to the rigors of its own idealism."

The writer answers the question, "Is there a God?", with the assertion, "There is." His conception of Deity is the modern one, which he calls "the full dynamic idea of *creative evolution*—an evolving God fulfilling himself coincidentally in the evolving processes of life." In harmony with this idea are his discussions of the enduring significance of prayer, the fact and validity of moral law, and the evidence for immortality.

The book aims to "present the substance of a reasonable faith for modern men." It is written in a clear and forceful style, and is worthy of a wide reading. It will be especially valued by those who believe that intelligence and faith are true yoke-fellows.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

HEROES OF THOUGHT. John Middleton Murry. New York: Julian Messner, Inc. 1938. Pp. xiii, 368. $3.75.

THE author of this volume needs no introduction to readers of the best current literature. They will read *Heroes of Thought* with expectation of honest presentation of purpose in writing and felicity in use of words. They will expect, too, to be jarred from conventional thinking about the heroes he has selected. His interest is not biographical. His major interest is in the recurring social reconstructions that have characterized European civilization since mediæval England. Chaucer, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Oliver Cromwell, John Milton, Rousseau, Goethe, William Godwin, Wordsworth, Shelley, Karl Marx, and William Morris are chosen because, in the author's judgment, they reflect both the actual social era in which each lived and also are the heroic thinkers who freed succeeding eras from the bonds of their own. Each is an embodiment of the historic past and of the prophetic future. Murry's own words are: "This book is an effort to unfold the drama of this inherent tragedy of natural Democracy, as it was actually experienced in the consciousness of a series of prophetic men." What the "inherent tragedy" is is described in Chapter I, entitled, "Heaven and Earth," which to me is worth the price of the book, although the entire book must be read in order to decide whether

the writer's heroes illustrate his main theme. He is sure of the continuity of history as represented by the Christian church only on condition that the church, having dismembered itself by texts selected from Paul's letters, shall reunite itself on his conception of oneness in Christ. He pleads for a return to the creative genius, "the incomparable power of edification," of St. Paul: "Yet once more by his power, which was the power of Christ in him, the Christian church must be refounded; not by the vain attempt to set up a new institution, but by gradually and patiently working to bring the Christian churches and the Jews into a single church. And it seems to me that we—Americans and English—who have 'profited' more than any other peoples by distorting the teaching of Paul into a teaching of schism and separation, who have exalted individualism into a dogma, are the appointed instruments whereby the truth of Paul's teaching—his passionate conviction that without Christian unity there is no Christ—shall be promulgated again. We, too, must proclaim Paul's doctrine of the unity of Jew and Gentile in Christ" (p. 17).

The paragraph quoted looks in the right direction, but why confine unity to the Jew-Gentile concept of Paul? Why assume that it is the Messianic task of Anglo-Saxon culture to bring about unity? Why not take the recent Madras Christian Conference as a present-day Pentecost, from which will issue a unity not yet conceived? More races were present and more tongues spoken at Madras than at Jerusalem; and their Messianic outlook was broader; their conception of the guilt to be pardoned and the salvation to be won truer to the facts of human nature. The author's plea for reevaluation of Paul as a condition of rescue from many if not all of our ills, may well be heeded. His idea is that noble "catholic" idea of the first century; a catholicity that does not make one race the instrument, and thus unconsciously betray feeling racial superiority. This, however, is not intended as criticism of the eloquent demand for a Christian solidarity of thought and practice which alone can effect a social reconstruction that has been the dream of all the thinkers introduced to us again in this volume.

Their names are familiar, but as John Middleton Murry presents them, they appear as met for the first time. New insights give appreciation of worth and defect. Some of the subtitles illustrate, for example: Montaigne, "The Birth of the Individual"; John Milton, "I Am that Satan"; Rousseau, "The Mirage of Progress"; Goethe, "The New Sacramentalism"; Karl Marx, "Salvation through Despair" and "Secular Messianism and Secular Theocracy"; William Morris, "The Church Re-Edified."

MILTON G. EVANS.

WHAT JESUS TAUGHT. Burton Scott Easton. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1938. Pp. 147. $1.50.

PROFESSOR EASTON'S technical and detailed contributions to New Testament study have been many and varied. His commentary, *The Gospel According to Saint Luke,* and his analyses and appraisals of the values and limitations of form criticism, *The Gospel Before the Gospels* and *Christ in the Gospels,* revealed him as a careful and learned scholar, widely read and at the same time original and independent. The present volume, while far less pretentious than these others, is worthy to stand with them. He has done a hard task excellently. He has assembled a collection of sayings from the three first gospels which he believes have a claim to be seen as coming from Jesus. These he has printed as short, separate items—they range in

length from a single line or less to more than a page—numbered consecutively from 1 to 221, and arranged under five main heads, each with numerous subdivisions, viz., "Righteousness," "The Father," "The Mission," "The Rejection," "Conversion." This first part of the volume is followed by a second section of commentary, also in the form of 221 numbered sections, in which in the briefest compass he "seeks to remove difficulties due to our remoteness from the events and so to place the reader as nearly as possible in the immediate presence of Jesus." The crisp comments do cast light, and not infrequently suggest insights which the serious preacher will not find amiss.

To attempt such a selection requires courage. No two scholars would probably agree as to the exact size of the selection. A good many sayings which he has given appear to me more probable as the product of later Christian thinking, as, for example, 15b, 46, 86, 130, 144, 152, 163, 190, 198, 221, to mention but a few. Perhaps the greatest value to the student will come from being forced to read the separate sayings as *separate sayings,* divorced from their later context and arrangement. It is one thing to realize in theory that it was from detached "sayings" and "doings" that the framers of our gospels made the arrangements with which we are familiar; quite another thing to read and study them in their detached state. Three indices—one giving the gospel location of the separate numbered items, a second reversing that process, and a conventional general index—make the book usable. I hope it will be used.

MORTON S. ENSLIN.

DID CHRIST REALLY LIVE? H. G. Wood. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 192. $1.75.

THIS is a useful volume for ministers and laymen alike—who have found themselves disturbed by rumors that occasional scholars have contended for the view that Jesus of Nazareth was not an actual historical figure, but the embodiment of earlier legend or the fantasy of religious imagination. The view in one form or another is by no means new, nor is this the first refutation. After sketching why men have doubted that Jesus was an historic character, our author sets himself the task of examining in detail the contentions of J. M. Robertson—whom he selects as the best example of these "blind leaders of the blind"—regarding the story of the crucifixion: "If it can be shown that the crucifixion is a myth, let us allow that the case against an historic Christ has been proved." Was Robertson right that the Gospel story of the crucifixion was originally not a narrative at all, but a mystery drama, and that this mystery drama was actually an evolution from a Palestinian rite of human sacrifice? Mr. Wood is decidedly of the opinion that he was not right; and in a crisp, pointed, occasionally sarcastic criticism exposes the fallacy of much of Robertson's reasoning. Fanciful derivations of names—akin to deriving "Washington" from "wet"—so dear to most of these investigators, but unhappily not limited to them; the readiness to combine practices as remotely separate and distinct as the horrible mutilation by the degraded Khonds; the annual sacrifice of a criminal in Rhodes to Kronos; the custom of sacrificing royal children in Phœnicia in times of crisis; and the treatment of the mock-king in the Saturnalia—all this is weighed in the balance and found decidedly wanting. In the two concluding chapters the author concerns himself with the two queries: "Does the Christian faith need a historic Jesus?" and, "What do we know of Jesus?" The book is well worth reading.

MORTON S. ENSLIN.

New York: An American City. 1783-1803 (A Study of Urban Life). Sidney I. Pomerantz. New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 531. $5.00.

This book is neither so technical nor so provincial as the title might indicate. Doctor Pomerantz has in the compact space of five-hundred-odd pages given a historic and romantic history of the great American city. I assume it was written for a specific purpose, namely, as a text for one of the author's social or political science classes. However, the periphery of the treatment oversteps these limited barriers and presents itself as a valuable reference work for Church History.

Primarily, it is a study of the various phases of urban life; depicting the contemporary trend of the purely governmental, the struggling political, the emerging economic, the wavering financial, and the general social and cultural effects of the colonial metropolis of New York upon the social life of the American people—with definitely expressed relationships to the world as a whole.

As the title suggests, the author deals wholly with the post-Revolutionary period, of twenty years. References are frequently made to past historic influences, as well as to subsequent developments.

It is definitely a scholarly, comprehensive, and analytical treatment; difficult reading at times because of its detailed and involved nature; but I know of no other volume that treats this period of American life with such completeness and historical accuracy. It is another innovation in the field of historic literature.

Kenneth Lloyd Garrison.

Spiritual Potencies. Frank S. Tolman and Mary W. Tolman. New York: Fortuny's. 1938. Pp. 151. $2.00.

This volume has been put through the press by Mrs. Tolman since her husband's death. The introduction, however, was written by Doctor Tolman and gives the purpose of the study to be "an effort to find the principles as stated in the Bible, upon which the Cosmic Order rests, and the method . . . under which the laws and forces may be used effectively for the things that make for the good of man." The conclusions reached are, that the "Eternal Christ" is visibly expressed in the entire universe, which is energized by the "Christ Consciousness." This, in turn, is ruled by the "Mind of Christ," or by another who gives direction in harmony with that Mind. "There are no limits to our control of the universe when we act upon it in harmony with the Mind of Christ."

From this point of view the book goes on to discuss the great themes of religion: God, Christ, the Holy Spirit; mind, faith, prayer; revelation, prosperity, miracles. The evidence upon which the conclusions are based is biblical. The proof-text method is used, with the application of many passages widened.

The volume closes with seven rules for the use of "this higher power," which "has no restrictions in health, wealth, happiness or privilege."

Rittenhouse Neisser.

Harmony in Marriage. L. Foster Wood. New York: Round Table Press. Pp. 122. $1.00.

The Secretary of the Committee on Marriage and the Home of the Federal Council of Churches has provided just the sort of book a pastor who takes seriously

his responsibility of uniting men and women in marriage will want to place in the hands of every couple coming to him for that service. The book is small and compact, but complete in the ground it covers. The chapters are: "What Marriage Means," "How the Home Can Succeed," "How Can Money Help or Hinder?", "Physical Harmony," "Meeting Differences Constructively," "Parenthood," "The Deeper Meaning of Marriage," "Pathways to Spiritual Harmony." At the end there is a Marriage Ceremony form. Doctor Wood had the collaboration of a physician in the preparation of his volume, Dr. R. L. Dickinson, secretary of the Committee on Maternal Health of the Academy of Medicine in New York and the ex-president of the American Gynecological Society. This collaborator's hand is evident in the full and frank exposition of Physical Harmony and Parenthood. Counseling for marriage is being accepted more and more as a pastoral responsibility, and the careless marrying of unknowns who drive up to the parsonage door must be recognized as disgraceful irresponsibility.

Recently Dr. John Day, an alumnus of Crozer, who has felt it his duty to prepare by careful instruction all those who apply to him for marriage in the significance and practice of the relationship, gave an account of his experience in these matters to the class in Social Ethics at the Seminary. In the course of his remarks he testified that in twenty-five years only two couples married by him had secured divorces and only one couple had separated. There is a great deal which time or occasion do not permit of saying in personal conversation between the minister and the couple he is to marry, but which is essential knowledge if marriage is to be a success. This book by Doctor Wood supplies that essential knowledge. A church might well budget a small sum to make it possible for its minister always to have on hand a supply of these books for distribution to its young people who are preparing for marriage.

GORDON POTEAT.

LAFAYETTE. W. E. Woodward. (Illustrated with old prints.) New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. Pp. xii, 472. 1938. $3.50.

LAFAYETTE is of especial interest to the American reader because of the colorful part he played in the American Revolution. He has become one of the most beloved foreigners in our tradition. In Mr. Woodward's book we have a vivid picture of this hero, whose wisdom and foresight, by the way, did not always keep pace with his enthusiasm for his ideals. His American experience, though it made a tremendous impression upon him, transpired early in his career. His life was bound up in varying degrees with the long development of the French Revolution. Of necessity, therefore, a biography of the Marquis de Lafayette must trace the French Revolution through its complicated stages. While it makes fascinating reading, one wonders if it was necessary for the author to go into such a detailed account and analysis of that social and political upheaval. We presume it is intended to clarify the motives of the Marquis, whose activity, as we said, was often more enthusiastic than wise. However, the book is genuinely enjoyable and the author has presented a thoroughly likeable, human Marquis de Lafayette. This reviewer is not qualified to say if the picture of the man in his Revolutionary setting is scholarly, but it seems to be carefully developed. A complete index adds value to the work.

PATRICIA W. WELLS.

The History of History. James T. Shotwell, Bryce Professor of the History of International Relations, Columbia University. Volume I. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xiii, 407. $3.75.

It is remarkable that historians, who have studied and portrayed the story of so many phases of human activity, should have paid such scant attention to the evolution of their own discipline. From time immemorial we have had political and military history. More recently economic and social histories have been appearing in profusion. And now cultural history is coming into its own. But the history of history continues to be neglected. True, certain phases of the field have been surveyed, and well surveyed, even though there may have been a tendency toward biographical treatment rather than to a tracing of the broad lines of historical development. But of attempts to deal with the history of history as a whole, only the recent volume of Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, eminently useful though of modest scope, comes to mind. There would seem to be a clear need for a fuller treatment of the subject along the same comprehensive lines. The fact that the present work is designated "Volume I" arouses keen expectation. It holds forth the prospect of a multi-volume treatment of the history of history from the eminently qualified pen of Professor Shotwell. Should such a work ever be completed, a very important contribution will have been made to historical synthesis.

In the meantime, this initial volume is to be accorded a warm reception upon its own merits. It is not, strictly speaking, a new arrival. It is rather a revised and enlarged edition of *An Introduction to the History of History* which appeared in 1922, not, the author assures us, because of any original purpose to write a history of antique historiography, but because the absence of any general survey rendered necessary such a treatment as a background for the *Records of Civilization* series projected by Columbia University. It is thus not a manual for the specialist, but a survey in non-technical language which reveals to the student of history whose prime interests may lie in other fields the fascinating story of the origin of his craft.

The story begins in Egypt and Babylon with dynastic lists and very scant annals, expanded from time to time by the accounts of recent and contemporary events inscribed on rocks and monuments at the command of ancient monarchs who hoped thus to win an earthly immortality. There follows an analysis of the historical writings of the Hebrews, far richer, far more complex, and far more challenging to the scholarly interpreter. Greek historiography struck a new note of critical detachment. Scarcely had it emerged from the glorious if indistinct Homeric dawn when Hecatæus of Miletus declared, "I write what I deem true; for the stories of the Greeks are manifold and seem to me ridiculous." The ideal which these brave words suggest was on the whole well upheld by classical historiography. It is true that even such masters as Herodotus and Livy were no mean purveyors of fable. Nor was the ancient historian more exempt from the subtle influence of party, class, or section than is his modern counterpart. But few historians have ever written with the fine detachment of Thucydides, whose achievement is the more remarkable since he was discussing contemporary events in which he had himself participated and the outcome of which was to him of the most vital personal concern. With the triumph of Christianity the atmosphere changes. No other group of historical writers has had so definite a philosophy of history as the church fathers, with "scholarship searching for proof of beliefs to which one has

already given full allegiance." The section on patristic historiography which in the former edition ended with Eusebius is now appropriately rounded out with an account of Augustine and Jerome. The *Introduction* was an excellent little tome. "Volume I" is even better. May its tribe increase!

LEONIDAS DODSON.

THE PROBLEM OF FOLLOWING JESUS. James Gordon Gilkey. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. x, 127. $1.50.

THIS volume measures up to the writer's reputation for presenting his ideas clearly and forcibly. He has accomplished well his purpose to make the book accurate, brief and simple.

The teachings and example of Jesus as portrayed in the synoptic Gospels are examined impartially with the purpose of "differentiating between" the "transient" and "permanent" elements. This careful study brings into view the two basic beliefs of Jesus: "the belief in God's love of individuals" and "the belief in the infinite value of every human soul." A chapter is devoted to proving that these beliefs are true.

On the basis of these beliefs it is shown that Jesus taught the obligation of universal kindness. The writer does not hesitate to attack the problem of applying "Jesus' rule of kindness" as it bears upon individuals and social groups. His final chapter brings clearly into view "four basic tasks" which American Protestants must face. Special emphasis is laid upon the duty of each member of the "liberal group" to formulate the "essentials of Christianity" for himself, and then "try to find the ways by which these essentials of Christianity can be made an effective part of his own thinking and living, and an effective part of the thinking and living of his generation."

The book is worthy of wide reading. It is fair in its attitude toward all shades of belief, from conservative to liberal. There are numerous and telling illustrations from practical life situations. It is hard to believe that anyone could read it without being greatly stirred about the real issues of life.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

THE HOLY STATE AND THE PROFANE STATE. Thomas Fuller. New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Vol. I, pp. xv, 338; Vol. II, pp. viii, 441. $7.00.

THOMAS FULLER was a minister of the seventeenth century Church of England. A cheerful, kindly, sympathetic man of unusual common sense, his beliefs and ideals were those of an intensely practical man. Under the influence of Bacon and the King James' Bible, this master of the interesting anecdote wrote easily in colloquial and homely expressions that abound in seventeenth century wit.

The Holy State and the Profane State is a practical and interesting ethical work by a man who was a favorite of Coleridge, Southey, and especially Charles Lamb. It contains four types of writing: characterization, essay, biography, and the courtesy book. (This last form tells of right conduct, good form and acceptable behavior.) It presents materials for the conduct and practice of the spirit of men in their relations with God and their fellow men. The book forms, also, an enlightening record of the social, economic, political, and religious life of the first half of the seventeenth century in England.

Since he was a Christian minister there is a tendency to stress the traditional moral purpose in his material. Thus, "The Holy State" is, for the most part, composed of those who are examples to be followed, and "The Profane State" are of those to be shunned.

The works of Fuller are here edited by Maximilian Graff Walten. The first volume contains an Introduction, Notes on the Book, and an Appendix, which concerns itself with "The Life of Andronicus," by Fuller. The second volume is a facsimile of the first edition of *The Holy State and the Profane State* dated 1642 and reduced in size.

A modern reader will be glad to go back three centuries and live for a while in the atmosphere of a clergyman earnestly trying to stimulate his contemporary readers to the "good life."

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

STUDIES IN METAPHYSICAL POETRY. Theodore Spencer and Mark Van Doren. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. iv, 88. $1.50.

THE interest in "metaphysical poetry" has increased greatly in the last few years. The seventeenth century poets have given our modern critics much to think about. The form of thinking has various expressions.

For some it has been the discovery of the types of past literature that seems most congenial to their own age; for others it has been an analysis of the age in which these former poets lived and their consequent reactions to their times; for still others it has been an attempt to answer certain questions that arise in the minds of our own day.

Here are two essays: "Recent Scholarship in Metaphysical Poetry" and "Seventeenth-Century Poets and Twentieth-Century Critics" followed by a fifty-page bibliography of Studies in Metaphysical Poetry between the years 1912 and 1938.

The value of the book is limited almost entirely to students who wish to acquaint themselves with this bibliography.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

ESSENTIAL CHRISTIANITY. Samuel Angus. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xxv, 226. $2.00.

"ESSENTIAL Christianity is that which is essential for the purpose of Christ in human life and in society now" (p. 2). Note that last word.

"The only hall-mark of Christianity—the Spirit of Christ" (p. 66).

This is the book of essential Christianity for the modern and liberal point of view. It will not satisfy the conservative mind nor the dogmatic of traditional tendencies. It will gather together for the modern liberal Christian all the attitudes and even the phrases by which our present position has been stated. Occasional sentences and phrases glow with inspiration, but the glow is the result of much fuel having been consumed all around them. This is the chief weakness of the book: an overabundance of the statements of simplicities, with the resultant prolonged and repetitive material. A condensation of the "essential" material of the book in the form of a long essay would have been not only sufficient, but more impressive.

The divisions of the book are: "The Problem," "Towards An Answer," "Essential Christianity" and "Christianity and Creed." This last section makes

the best contributions to our present position, offering interesting examples of creeds for the non-liturgical churches and, thus, suggesting an approach to our nascent demand for a modern statement of beliefs. The eight tests for a creed (pp. 209-219) are conclusive.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

RECENT LITERATURE AND RELIGION. John Rothwell Slater. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. viii, 237. $2.00.

THESE are the Ayer Lectures at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School in 1938. The book may be read as an excellent survey of recent literature or as a remarkable analysis of the present state of religion. The author may well lecture ministers on the latter subject and give them much to think about.

His thesis is that recent fiction and drama have been of three types: (1) the literature of contemplative insight; (2) the literature of religion in practice; and (3) the literature of the lonely struggle of the soul (p. 102). That types of literature are not clearly distinct, one from another, is stated (p. 13): "It is oversimplification to see in modern thought either a pronounced theistic, or pantheistic, or atheistic trend. All three are there, together with many ambiguous evasions of the issue." In presenting this thesis he seems to suggest that literature has more to teach us about religion in the world of today than we can learn from "religious" text-books—and he makes out a good case for his position.

Even if we care little for literature, we cannot care less for religion when the volume is finished—and the author will see to it that we care more for both.

"Epigrammatic" is an abused word; but note:

It takes laughter to make some men think, though less than thought to make them laugh (pp. 90, 91).

Of Shaw— . . . *he seems almost anti-Christian to many good people who never learned how to laugh* . . . (pp. 94, 95).

When a man's hair is white, even if he has neither faith nor hope, he should have learned charity (p. 95).

Here humor is shrewd and kindly, as it should be. Take the book for what it is—a wholesome and healthful restorative of our religious faith and a corrective for our too-easy despair that modern literature is "Disillusionment and Futility" on the "Morning after an Earthquake."

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

EVANGELISM FOR THE WORLD TODAY. John R. Mott, Editor. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1939. Pp. 295. $2.50.

WE are indebted to the editor of this timely and attractive volume for an excellent survey directed to those who are working for a clearer cooperation in the work of the Christian church. About one hundred twenty-five well-known Christian leaders in Asia, Africa, Australia, Europe, and the Americas attempt to interpret Christianity, and show its relevancy and fruitfulness in these days. Doctor Mott divides the contents of this book on "Evangelism" into four parts—of the first of which he is the author—the significance of this symposium; the meaning of evangelism; the relevance of evangelism; and the fruitfulness of evangelism. The definitions are given in the light of the writers' own thoughts, observations, and experiences, gathered in the fields with which they are most familiar.

There is a world-wide interest in evangelism, and it can meet an urgent need. The wholesome fruits of a sane evangelism are seen all around us. The answers to the questions sent out to a carefully selected group revealed a remarkable fact, considering the wide variety of backgrounds of the writers, that there is such a large degree of unanimity, particularly on the most vital points.

The writers realize their inability to express in words the depths of meaning of the mission of Christ to men. However, the attempts to express their thoughts have resulted in a wide and rich variety of definitions of the gospel. One of the best definitions is "A passion to share Christ with others." It is an urge to bring people into a fellowship with Christ, and begin a spiritual adventure in the way of Jesus. The contributors recognize that the first task of Christianity is the spiritual redemption of the individual.

There is a general agreement that the gospel is relevant and essential to this time. Some would urge that there are certain implications of the gospel which must be stressed at certain times and places. The primitive Christianity had a social as well as an individualistic program. It offered to the disinherited of that generation a fellowship of equal charm. Within its fold men were regarded as children of God. One writes of this kind of evangelism as the "full gospel" in which Christ is concerned with every side of human life. He has something to say about personal sin or weakness, social inequality, racial inequality, international strife and war, and has power to do something about it.

Often it is brought out that owing to the fact that the people of the world are so diverse, they are appealed to by different phases of the all-embracing gospel. There is no contradiction between preaching a social gospel and an individual gospel. They are inseparably intertwined. The gospel gives to the individual a personal adjustment, a social adjustment, and a sense of fellowship in a great cause, moving toward the highest known purpose of life. It offers a basic set of principles upon which society might be organized.

Some of the writers emphasize the relevancy of a world-wide evangelism. In this respect the book is timely because there is imperative need for an international and interracial Christian fellowship.

The last part of the book has a large amount of valuable material coming out of the experiences of the contributors. It reveals the characteristics of Christianity which have some fruits in deeply satisfying ways. Where Christianity has been characterized by an intelligent approach among the intelligent people, it has had wholesome results. Evangelism has been fruitful where the present-day problems have been faced. It was intended by Christ to solve the problems of making life among men successful in all relationships. The best results of evangelism have been obtained when followed by or integrated with conferences. These results have been conserved after the so-called period of intense evangelism has passed by furnishing opportunities for fellowship in worship, social action, recreation, and service.

One points out that Christian faith must take root in the soil of human knowledge before it has a chance to grow. The more one learns of things in this life, the greater the possibility of the growth of his faith in his way of life. On the whole, evangelism has been most abiding when it has been part of a long, slow process in which its truth, beauty, and power of Christian living have been apprehended, first in others, and then in the man himself. That is true evangelism which results in a personal experience of God, of his love and his leadership of

life. The most fruitful, most satisfying, and most abiding evangelism is that which finds expression in the lives of truly regenerated souls who make up a Christian brotherhood.

This symposium constitutes a summons to Christian leaders to a more profound understanding of the gospel, to a deeper passion for evangelism, to more sacrificial living, to a recognition and utilization of key positions, and a summons to a unity and solidarity such as Christ's followers have never yet realized. In a word, the writers call us to a larger recognition of the "centrality and sufficiency of our Lord Jesus Christ."

GEORGE S. YOUNG.

THE QUEST FOR RELIGIOUS CERTAINTY. Harold A. Bosley, Ph.D. Chicago and New York: Willett, Clark and Co. 1939. Pp. xi, 235. $2.50.

THIS book by the youthful pastor of the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church in Baltimore seeks to determine what we can *know*, religiously speaking. The quest of the volume is for religious certitude. After a brief survey of mankind's search for truth, first, through philosophy, then, through theology, and finally, these last three hundred years, through science, the author mentions the modern, conflicting attempts to achieve certainty. Among these are four specific insights—"High Religion," revelation, the supernatural, and value—and two systems—Modernism and Neo-Thomism. "No more pressing task confronts Christian leaders than that of bringing some kind of genuine order out of this welter of conflicting attempts to achieve certainty" (p. 29).

The roads to certainty which Doctor Bosley considers "all presuppose the reality of the value experience . . . and are advanced as ways of discovering the fuller nature of value in order to make possible more precise judgments regarding it" (p. 32). He defines certainty itself as "man's consciousness of a reliable relationship, stated in terms of belief, between himself and his world" (p. 32). The most satisfying of the methods leading to certainty he discovers to be that of "observation and reason." Beliefs must, accordingly, always be held tentatively, even though the certainty of conviction may characterize our present attitude.

There is not space here fully to review this highly philosophical book. That being true, I want to devote the remainder of this statement to the final chapter which strikes me as being by far the most significant in the entire work. This is entitled, "Synthesis of Tentativeness and Certainty in Ethical Conduct." Here the thesis is upheld that the "final validation of logically coherent religious formulations . . . inheres in ethical action. 'Not everyone that saith . . . but he that doeth . . .'" (p. 191).

The prophets, Jesus, and Paul all proclaimed an ethic which has no meaning apart from their religion. Nor can we sunder our quest for certainty from a religion rooted ultimately in the ethical. "An empirical Christian ethic will strive to solve moral problems by means of the idea of love which it feels most adequately relates man to the value structure of the universe" (p. 220). We cannot escape the judgment of action: "By their fruits shall ye know them."

The final words of the book sound forth in clarion notes the idea that the ethical is the ultimate. Here the religious man finds the basis of his certainty in so far as it is possible to be certain in a changing world. "Ethical action, then, is the supreme moment in Christian experience, for in it we lay our beliefs, ideals,

and ideas on the altar of God, confident that he will accept, reject, or modify them, and that we shall be enriched by a fuller knowledge of him."

GEORGE W. DAVIS.

INEVITABLE DAWN. Arthur C. Baldwin. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1939. Pp. 308. $2.00.

AS EVERYONE knows, the Twentieth Century has seen an emergence of the social gospel and a liberal approach to the tasks of the church. Any minister attempting to guide his church by this conviction will still find problems arising out of the conflict with those who adhere to another view of the situation. To this problem the author of *Inevitable Dawn* has given his attention.

Bruce Hardy, newly graduated from a liberal seminary, comes to the conservative church in the politically controlled town of Millvale. Not all the membership, however, are conservative and the young minister soon finds friends among them, as well as among those outside the church. He meets with and overcomes the existing conditions of jealousy, prejudice, and injustice. Determined upon a broad, modern ministry, he finally achieves the respect and love of his people and of the community. After his marriage to Mary Knowles, there comes a call to a church in a well-known suburban community, an historic body in a university center. The call is refused in the light of their common understanding of the need of Millvale for the continued services of a pastor who had led them into finer fields of Christian service.

Doctor Baldwin, pastor of the Chestnut Street Baptist Church in Philadelphia, states his purpose:

> "I wrote with the serious purpose of showing a progressive, modern-minded young minister coming to an old, stodgy town; of course, there would be friction. What happened there happens in many places. It portrays the place of the church and the ministry in small-town American life."

The author has accomplished his purpose in his novel. While it may be felt that the situations he describes belong to an earlier period of the conflict, it may well be that many a present-day church is quite accurately described. Certainly the problems are indicative, if not definitive.

The story was serialized in *The Christian Herald* as "Mrs. Caleb's Boarder."

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

TYPES OF RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY. Edwin A. Burtt. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1939. Pp. ix, 512. $3.00.

A FEW years ago William Ernest Hocking wrote a book on *Types of Philosophy* in which he outlined the major philosophic developments in Western thought. In this present volume, our author, who is a member of the faculty of the Sage School of Philosophy at Cornell University, performs a comparable service in the field of religion. The final result, when the work is considered as a total presentation, is admirable. Doctor Burtt succeeds in portraying effectively for his readers this long and significant development of religious thought.

The major purpose of the volume is "to contribute toward a fundamental clarification of religious philosophy." In the fulfilment of this aim the book

divides into two parts. In the first of these, which constitutes the bulk of the work, the historical method is employed to present the long development of religion in the Western World from the systematization of Catholic philosophy in the late Middle Ages to the formulation of religious humanism in our generation. As a prelude to this presentation the main stages in the development of Judaism and Christianity are made known, since these are foundational material for the various religious philosophies discussed. Then, beginning with the formulation of Catholic philosophy by Thomas Aquinas, the author ably presents six more types of religious philosophy: Protestant fundamentalism; "the religion of science"; agnosticism; ethical idealism; modernism; humanism. Each of these is subjected to a lucid, objective presentation.

The second division of the book is found in the last two chapters. Having stated the religious philosophy of the seven above-mentioned movements, Doctor Burtt presents some individual philosophies and current trends which defy exact classification. Excellent, brief summaries are given of the religious philosophy of William James, W. E. Hocking, S. Alexander, A. N. Whitehead, and Henri Bergson. Among the current trends, the New Supernaturalism, the New Skepticism, Naturalistic Theism, and the New Nationalism are succinctly outlined.

The closing chapter is devoted to a comparative statement of the position of the seven major religious philosophies above-mentioned on five dominant problems: the competence of human intelligence; the certainty of religious knowledge; the essential structure of the universe; religion, metaphysics, history, and social ethics; method in religious philosophy. This is one of the most significant and illuminating chapters of the book, bringing, as it does, the clash and agreement of current philosophies of religion into clear focus on these crucial problems.

Obviously, it is impossible to deal in any detail with the actual content of this able volume. He who reads and absorbs its discriminating discussion will certainly be enlightened. But I should like to call attention to one unusual and useful feature of this work so far as content is concerned. This resides in the outline, at the conclusion of each of the seven chapters dealing with the religious philosophies, of the major disputed assumptions of that particular school of thought. These outlines are very suggestive and offer an excellent medium for comparing the philosophies of religion which are separately and objectively considered.

This book deserves wide use as an introductory text-book in the field of the philosophy of religion. It will also prove invaluable to men now in the ministry.

George W. Davis.

The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism. Antoinette K. Gordon. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. i-xxxi; 1-129. $16.00.

In this beautifully executed volume, containing numerous photographs of the Tibetan deities and unusual copies of paintings connected with the Lamaism of that country, we have a laudable contribution to our knowledge of the religion of Tibet. The work is painstakingly done. The various ritual objects, symbols, talismans, paintings, and images of the Tibetan faith are portrayed in exhaustive detail by drawing, photograph, or painting reproduction.

The section dealing with iconography is preceded by a brief, effective statement on the "Origin of Buddhism and Its Development Into Lamaism."

As a whole, the work is highly technical. From this point of view it will

prove of more value to the scholar than to the casual student of religions. The many fine reproductions of objects religiously Tibetan will, however, bring information to all who seek to understand the mysteries of Lamaism, fulfilling the author's purpose "to give the student interested in Tibetan iconography a general idea of the development of Buddhism into Lamaism, and to make easier the identification of the various objects of the Tibetan pantheon." The work deserves high commendation.

GEORGE W. DAVIS.

GOD IN HISTORY. Otto Piper. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xxi, 189. $2.00.

THE position adopted in this volume by the German guest professor at Princeton Theological Seminary is that of the *Heilsgeschichte* school of the eighteenth century, with some modifications required by subsequent theological and exegetical changes. By *Heilsgeschichte,* or "holy history," is meant the spiritual process which is hiddenly determining the external changes which we record in secular history. To see historical changes as the result of the divine action is to see them in a new perspective which often reverses the judgments of relative significance which are made regarding events by secular historians. History so conceived, says Professor Piper, centers in the Bible, but includes all history viewed from the biblical standpoint—that is, as God's purpose being worked out through Jesus Christ.

Having taken this point of view, the author then states the sense in which Christ manifests the purpose of God by "interfering with history" both to consummate the historical developments in the Greek, Roman, and Jewish traditions in a fresh creative solution of their impasses and tensions, and to impart new direction to human life. Thereby Christ stands in judgment upon every nation which confronts him. In the light of this new factor, man's self-confidence as a maker of history breaks down and he becomes aware of his need of divine help, and also of his kinship with that spiritual order which transcends and penetrates the natural world. Seen from this point of view of "holy history" the history of Israel, both before and after Christ, becomes the record of a peculiar, chosen people whose life was built around the Word of God but who rejected Christ and thereby made necessary a transfer to the Church as the "true Israel." There is no mystery of history deeper than this Jewish repudiation of Christ which opened salvation to *all* men. Henceforth the Church is to stand in the midst of the nations as God's agency for world redemption, and western civilization represents this agency at work with divine power and wisdom behind it. The crisis of the present day lies in the political indifference to Christianity and its message of the Incarnation.

So runs the argument; and since the competence of secular historiography is denied at the outset, it is difficult to see how an unconvinced reader like the present reviewer can make contact for critical purposes. To say that at many points the historiography is dubious or even inaccurate may be sound from a scientific historical point of view but leave the author unperturbed. Yet it will negate the value of the volume to most church historians in this country. How many of them, for example, will see anything unique in Christians in the fact that "they no longer need the pressure of political order to be restrained from wrongdoing," if one remember Socrates? And is religion "the heart and unchanging

center of Israel" any more than of Hindu civilization? Or is it true that the thoughts of Origen and Augustine and Aquinas and Jakob Boehme were "entirely founded upon the New Testament"? Was Christianity alone in teaching "that true freedom was coupled with responsibility"?

At times the author contradicts himself, and even his own position will acknowledge this as a defect. If "it was Christianity that gave the element of restlessness to the human soul," how could he say that in the pagan world before Christ came "people realized more or less vaguely that the evils which beset them were intolerable"? How are we to reconcile the statement that "Incarnation is an act by which the Logos interferes with history" with the prior declaration that "it is the Virgin Birth which prevents us from thinking of the work of Christ in terms of a divine disturbance of history"? A similar contradiction appears within the paragraph on page 26.

The reader will gasp many times at the audacity of the author in interpreting God's mind in such passages as "While it was God's will to dwell bodily on this earth, when it should have reached full maturity, the desperate state of mankind had moved Christ to come previous to the consummation."

Finally the risk in such a book as this is that it forces historical interpretation into its own rubrics and has, in doing so, to resort often to fantastic speculative interpretation to accommodate the records. It thus remains an interesting excursion in theology, but unconvincing as an essay in the philosophy of history.

Edwin Ewart Aubrey.

To Save Their Souls. Bessie Lewis. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 1939. Pp. 303. $2.50.

In this interesting historical novel, Bessie Lewis very graphically portrays some of the conditions which existed among the Negroes of the South in the middle of the nineteenth century. The story begins in the first quarter of the century when slave trading had become illegal, but traders continued to smuggle slaves from Africa "to save their souls." The book deals mainly with the period of the Civil War and immediately after. The chief concern of the author is to show how in each case of "soul saving" there was either an ulterior motive or an evil consequence. With fine irony the author pursues her theme from the soul-saving Yankee captain of the illegal slave ship to the bombastic carpet-bag preacher of the Reconstruction régime set upon "saving their souls." A much-needed light is cast upon the real difficulties and readjustments which were necessary after the Civil War. The book reveals a warm southern sympathy and a rather sarcastic aversion toward the "Yankee soul-savers." One feels the southern scene is a bit too rosy, but the contrasts are vividly drawn, and the whole book is a tale well told.

Delaine E. Story.

The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800–1840. William Wilson Manress. New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 270. $3.25.

This monograph represents a careful study of one denomination during a short period of time. Its author has wisely chosen a period in which the Episcopal church along with a number of other church groups was deeply influenced by

practices and institutions which characterize American Protestantism. After a description of the colonial background and the general fortunes of the Episcopal Church during the period 1800–1840, the author gives detailed studies of the work of the rector, missionary, and layman in the parish. A chapter on the services reveals significant changes in the materials of worship during those four decades. Throughout the book runs a cleavage between the High Churchmen and the Evangelicals. It is to be hoped that what has been done for one denomination may now be done in a similar manner for some of the other denominations which were influenced to an even greater degree by the social, political, and economic changes of the early decades of the last century.

A. R. Moore.

The Marian Exiles. Christine Hallowell Garrett. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. 388. $6.50.

The thesis of this book is that the Marian emigration was a voluntary movement supported by a group of influential English merchants, and not a group of men and women who were the victims of religious persecution, as they desired it to be known. The author distinguishes between the migration to Germany, which was genuinely religious, and that to France, which was frankly political. A great part of the book is given over to a Census of the Exiles, with brief personal histories. The Census shows that the number who left England was relatively small. The significance of the study, representing considerable work, lies in the fact that most of those who migrated as a political faction in 1554, came back as a political party four years later to play an important rôle in the Elizabethan Settlement.

A. R. Moore.

A Testament of Faith. P. G. S. Hopwood. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. $2.00.

This is the fourth book in the series, the *Great Issues of Life,* edited by Dr. Rufus Jones. The author, who is minister of the Oak Street Congregational Church in Accrington, England, discusses the so-called "new psychologies" and their relation to religious experience which he defines as "a man's life experience shot through by his awareness of God." The thesis of the book is that faith is not something opposed to knowledge or contrary to reason, but should be conceived as reason itself operating in a noble and legitimate way of approach to Reality. The chapter entitled "Faith a Pathway to Reality" is to be recommended for a time when faith seems to be at a discount. Written as an apology for religious experience, the book attempts to weigh some of the contributions of science to religious knowledge as well as to combat the reaction to the "feeling content" of religion as led by the followers of Karl Barth who will have none of it.

A. R. Moore.

The Art of Conducting Public Worship. Albert W. Palmer. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. 211. $2.50.

The author is President Palmer of the Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational), and his book was selected by the Religious Book Club for April of this year. That is a high compliment. It is well written, and covers the field of worship in the churches with new and fresh emphasis.

The course of his thought runs something like this: People in an age like ours, beaten and flayed, torn in mind and jangled of nerves, need above all else an experience of God such as real worship promises. Of course there is little hope of the miracle until there is a very serious attempt on the part of church leaders to make it possible. Irreverent and loose procedures must be exorcised as though they were demonic.

Even so there can be no beginning until an authentic theology is reestablished in the minds of the people; there can be no worship until there is a genuine God to be worshiped. When worship proceeds from living convictions about God, and comes to be a genuine experience, its value to people is beyond estimate. The more one knows about the history of Christian worship, and the richer the worship materials used in the order of worship, the more significant the worship experience may be. Moreover, careful attention must be given to the architectural setting of the public worship service, and to the historical and meaningful symbols and words of worship. That prayer is the heart of all worship must be ever kept in mind, and even the most non-conformist group must not fail to see the "sacraments" as the common worship-center for Christians of every name. And finally the worship experience must be related to the social gospel or be like a goodly tree that bears no fruit; what is experienced at the altars of worship must be expressed in Christian social living, or else be condemned as largely useless.

An appendix A constitutes a self-rating scale by means of which the minister may measure himself as a leader of worship.

W. R. McNutt.

An Introduction to a Christian Psychotherapy. J. A. C. Murray, B.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. 279. $3.00.

An Introduction to a Christian Psychotherapy is a book endeavoring "to bridge the gap between the great structure of Christian doctrine, and the epoch-making discoveries of recent psychological research." This volume supports the important principle of utilizing modern psychotherapeutic techniques in conjunction with religious practices. Emphasis is placed upon the need for including spiritual values in treating the mental ills of mankind. Religious concepts presented for consideration consist of well-known formulations of theological thinking. Psychiatric material includes many passages of exposition, simplified and instructive in nature, especially following the Jungian interpretations of psychic organization. The sections given to descriptive psychiatry should prove to be helpful to the busy pastor who so frequently must meet mental disorders in the church and community which he serves. The psychological field as particularly represented through the author's interpretations of instinct contains several interesting comments. While the reviewer will not attempt to discuss religion in the terms of instinct, he will profess a little bewilderment in the division of instinctive life into two fundamental instincts: (1) "the value instinct; its subsidiaries of self-preservation and self-assertion, (2) the instinct of incompleteness; its subsidiaries, especially those of sex and religion." If one accepts these instincts of "I am of value" and "I am incomplete," the validity of which the author strongly supports in the context, it is still difficult to see why the subsidiaries cannot be interchangeable between the two fundamental instincts.

The reviewer cannot share the author's marked faith in "the certitude of our new knowledge regarding the nature, structure, and functions of the mind," espe-

cially in thinking of Walsh's "seven and twenty warring sects of psychiatry." The reviewer also does not relish the "all or none" sharp distinctions between "Christian and non-Christian." It would be a little more charitable to admit in terms broader than outlined that the lands of the Near East, India, China, and even the land of pagan psychiatry have contributed incalculably to the religious, moral, and ethical experiences of the race as a whole. Religion viewed only in the terms of a "He" and a "Christendom" cannot carry us much beyond anthropomorphism and tribalism.

Attention should be directed toward certain dangers in trespassing upon therapeutic fields belonging more properly to medicine. The reviewer cannot share the overenthusiasm of the author in the latter's extolling of hypnosis as an "exact science." While it is interesting to read a description of how to induce hypnosis, and to note the author's warning against its indiscriminate use, it is distinctly dangerous to urge the use of hypnosis by individuals non-medically trained. The list of disorders amenable to hypnosis as listed by the author includes "pain of every kind," "functional paralyses and contractures," "nervous dyspepsia and disturbance of appetite," "constipation and diarrhea," "muscular and arthritic rheumatism," "hay fever," "disturbances of speech, hearing, or vision from nervous causes," all types of "hysterical and neurasthenic symptoms." While the author is apparently thinking of symptoms and signs not caused by organic factors, the medically trained person cannot view without alarm the freedom in the use of hypnosis that the author permits himself or extends to others by direct statement and by implication.

The reviewer does not feel that the "gap" between religion and psychiatry has been bridged by this book. He also does not think that the time is ripe to attempt a totalitarian synthesis of the two fields, simply because the human race understands too little about either field. This is no reason, however, why Doctor Murray or anyone else should not strive to gain clearer perspective of these fields in the hope that such striving may help to develop religion and psychiatry toward planes higher than those conceptualized and practiced at the present.

Doctor Murray's book should prove to be stimulating and thought-provoking but should be read with very great caution.

Edward J. Humphreys, M.D.

The Educational Work of the Church. Nevin C. Harner. New York: Abingdon Press. 1939. Pp. 257. $1.25.

This volume is a worthy addition to the Abingdon Religious Education Texts. A text is just what it is; it covers the whole field of religious education in the local church concisely and adequately. It is the sort of text one should wish who proposed to teach a class of young people, or even a class of teachers now at work in the church school.

The author writes, as he says, from two basic convictions: first, that the churches are suffering, even to the point of losing the younger generation, for lack of educational insights and methods, and second, because too often the minister neglects a vital educational leadership. An understanding appreciation of what is found in this book would cure both these lacks.

The reviewer knows no better way of intimating the area covered than by presenting the chapter headings. Here they are: "What Is Christian Education?,"

"Building a Program to Fit People," "Bringing Order Out of Chaos," "Why Bother with the Children?," "Putting the School Back Into Church School," "Training for Church Membership," "The Minister and His Young People," "Developing Lay Workers," "Reaching the Home," "Christian Education in Strange Places."

It is the sort of book which the "workers' library" in your church ought to have on the shelves.

Another volume in the same series of texts is *Understanding Children* by Lewis J. Sherrill, published by the Abingdon Press, 1939, pp. 218, $1.25—the title page or page of contents will serve to call attention to an excellently written book. The chapters are: "Understanding Children," "Home and Surroundings," "How Children Differ," "Values and Aversions," "Children's Learning," "Knowledge and Insight," "Understanding and Expression," "Health and Personality," "Growth of Character," and "Growth Through Christian Fellowship."

William R. McNutt.

George W. Truett. P. W. James. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. 291. $2.50.

Pastor at Dallas, Texas, since 1897—A man who can hold an effective pastorate for forty-two years is an institution. It is the story of a beloved preacher "with the shepherd heart." He was born in 1867 on a farm in Clay County, North Carolina. He founded and became principal of an Academy in Georgia at twenty, moved to Texas and became financial secretary of Baylor University, raised funds for a distressing debt and then entered as a student.

The church in Dallas grew from 715 to more than 7,000. The Sunday school has an average attendance of 2,713. From the one-room frame building in 1873 have grown buildings covering a city block. There are eight assistants and the tenure of office runs from 10 to 33 years. In 1936 the contributions to local work were $123,310, and for outside causes, $287,653.

It is a story of human interest. The ministry of Doctor Truett has extended far beyond the confines of a church parish. Joseph Fort Newton wrote: "What we remember is not his theory, but his experience, and we share and rejoice in the grand orthodoxy of the heart which makes his preaching so vital and compelling. When he tells of the love of God and the Saviourhood of Christ, he is irresistible."

Elmer W. Powell.

The Case for Evangelical Modernism. Cecil John Cadoux. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co. Pp. 191. $2.00.

Here is a thoughtful book by the Professor of Church History in Mansfield College, Oxford. It is a study of the relation between Christian faith and traditional theology. Doctor Cadoux holds that truth and not tradition is the right test of orthodoxy. He argues that evangelical modernism, rightly understood, is the true test of orthodoxy, and that, as such, it fully preserves the essence and religious value of the Christian gospel.

Doctor Cadoux means by modernism "the general acceptance of a new criticism in the interpretation both of Scripture and the traditional Christian doctrine, in conformity with the methods and results of modern knowledge. The great creeds and doctrines were the work of reason and not of revelation. Thus

the doctrine of the Trinity represents the best that Christians of the early centuries could do in the way of explaining and formulating the fact of Jesus' extraordinary relation to God."

The fact to be remembered is that essential Christianity is true and that all relevant truth is Christian. The claims of truth are paramount. Truth stands in its own right and does not depend on the consent of majorities. To draw nearer to truth is to draw nearer to God. Christian modernism can "furnish forth a Gospel for sinful and suffering humanity."

ELMER W. POWELL.

WRITE YOUR OWN TEN COMMANDMENTS. Bernard Eugene Meland. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co. 1938. Pp. 146. $2.00.

THIS book should be of particular value to trained lay leaders. It suggests both research and insight into profound problems of moral adjustment. A casual and somewhat sketchy review of current moral lapses is followed by the suggestion that these are more in the nature of confusions resulting from conflicts between accepted restraints and straightforward experiments with new approaches to life adjustment. With patient, intelligent reference to accepted tests for our guidance, we should study and measure our own reactions to life, carefully listing our interests and abilities. After this, we should work out our own ten commandments toward the strengthening of our own personalities. In the second division of the book, ten such commandments are listed and briefly discussed. There is nothing new or startling in the book unless it is this listing of ten practices in thinking and behavior which should be invaluable in the building of a sound personality.

G. B. WEBSTER.

A RELIGION FOR DEMOCRACY. Russell Henry Stafford. New York: Abingdon Press. 1938. Pp. 209. $2.00.

THIS is a book to be studied by leaders in religion and government. It undertakes to survey, in brief, vast fields of political and religious history and thought, running strongly on the philosophical side. The rather constant use of categorical statements, bristling with the terminologies of religion, government, and philosophy, makes the book difficult to digest. In some places, one may feel the haziness of the bird's-eye view.

The author finds successful democracy the most effective instrument of human growth and welfare, and sees the purer forms of the Christian spirit and practice as the religion most akin to democracy. Any cultural environment which appreciates and develops the individual becomes a most effective instrument of social welfare. This book should be valuable for those interested in justifying the principles and institutions of Christian democracy before the rising tides of totalitarianism.

G. B. WEBSTER.

FREE MEN. Lynn Harold Hough. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1939. Pp. 240. $2.00.

EXPERIENCES as dean of Drew Theological Seminary, Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute, President of Northwestern University, pastor of prominent Methodist churches, and lecturer on college foundations have given Doctor Hough a wide

area of observation. He has been a prolific writer with thirty-three volumes to his credit. Fourteen essays readable and informing, are included in *Free Men.* "Making Theology Available for Religion" was delivered at Princeton: "Aldersgate Once More" was delivered at a General Conference. "The Church and the Society of Men's Minds" would be futile in Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Soviet Russia with the passing of freedom.

Evangelical humanism as interpreted by Dean Hough is an answer to many questions which baffle earnest men. As systems are disintegrating and the old order is being succeeded by a new chaos, Doctor Hough finds himself possessed of resources amid the confusions of contemporary life. The book calls for confident advance when many are losing courage. The volume is the third in the series of Forest Essays written on the campus of Drew Seminary.

ELMER W. POWELL.

BOOK NOTICES

A WINNING WITNESS. Gaines S. Dobbins, Nashville: Broadman Press. 1938. Pp. 148. 60 cents.

THIS little book, by the professor of Religious Education and Church Efficiency in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, will inspire many of its readers to be more efficient witnesses of Christ. The volume is well documented with Biblical quotations and is practical in its suggestions. At the beginning of each chapter is a skeleton outline, and at the end are review questions. "The seal for Course VIII in the B. A. U. Study Course is awarded for the completion of this book" and examination upon it.

HARRY L. POE.

GOOD MORNING. Louie D. Newton, D.D., Nashville: Broadman Press. 1938. Pp. 92. 75 cents.

DOCTOR NEWTON, pastor of the Druid Hills Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, began in January, 1936, to write for the Atlanta Constitution a column which goes by the nomenclature of "Good Morning." This little volume contains some sixty such columns. In these Doctor Newton deals with a wide variety of common everyday happenings of life. His keen interest and understanding of human nature enables him to draw his daily lessons from the common unnoticed instances of life.

HARRY L. POE.

JESUS AND HIS CHURCH. R. Newton Flew. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1938. Pp. 275. $2.00.

THE principal of Wesley House, Cambridge, England, believes that Jesus did found the church—and makes a good case out of his conviction. His solution of the vexing eschatological angle to such an assertion is the best I have met to date. The main purpose of a review by one of us ministers is either to recommend, or to sound a wary note. I do the former. The book makes good fodder for a ser-

mon—or series of talks—on "The Theory of the Church." I have done just that—and the treatment "took" with even the seasoned trustees!

ERIC OESTERLE.

CHRIST AT EVERY TURN. Karl Frederick Wettstone. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. 168. $1.00.

THE former pastor of the Bethany Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, has presented some creditable sermons in this collation of pulpit utterances on social situations. Its chief merit is the use of illustrations out of his own experience. They bear the mark of authenticity and pertinence. A dollar is not misspent here.

ERIC OESTERLE.

OUT OF THE EAST. William A. Stanton. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1938. Pp. 192. $1.50.

HERE is a man who can write winsomely about a subject quite subject to dullness. Preacher, you can prime your pump with the handy cup of this volume.

ERIC OESTERLE.

LEGAL ASPECTS OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. I. H. Rubenstein. Chicago: The Crandon Press. 1935. Pp. 33.

THIS little volume should give devotees of Christian Science, and other cults as well, cause for thought. The author has brought together considerable documentary evidence to show that a religious faith which denies pain, disease, suffering, and the like, places one in a peculiar relation to the law and the courts. For persons who hold to the belief that these are unreal and illusory, physical injuries, accidents, mental agony, etc., should not provide grounds for legal action, and if the cases cited by the author are typical, it may be concluded that in most instances they are not recognized as sufficient grounds for such action.

R. D. MILLER.

BEING MADE OVER. Charles R. Brown. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1939. Pp. 159. $1.50.

THOSE who are striving to resist the hard, secular currents of the day will find these addresses forceful, inspiring and helpful. Young men entering the ministry today "will be compelled to face a harder task than the one which confronted me when I began."

These fourteen addresses will prove suggestive to anyone who tries to meet the demand for effective preaching. Dean Brown has been an inspiration to students at Yale and elsewhere.

ELMER W. POWELL.

RADIANT REALITIES. David Marshall Gardner. Nashville: Broadman Press. 1938. Pp. 123. $1.00.

UNLIKE the proverbial child, some sermons should be heard and not seen. Ten short sermons "prepared under the pressure of multiform duties" were delivered before "mighty multitudes of visitors" in the First Baptist Church, St. Petersburg,

Florida. Doctor Gardner is a gracious minister with a sympathetic flow of language. Some of the appealing illustrations are not factual. The evangelical atmosphere of Baylor University abides in his loyalty to Doctor Tidwell, "the great Bible teacher"; Doctor Carroll, "the great preacher and teacher of Texas," and Dr. J. B. Gambrell.

ELMER W. POWELL.

RICHARD UPJOHN, ARCHITECT AND CHURCHMAN. Everard M. Upjohn. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 243. $4.00.

THIS beautiful book contains 109 illustrations of architectural versatility. A century ago Richard Upjohn designed Trinity Church, New York, and other historic buildings. His beautiful structures were designed when the Gothic revival, both in England and America, was the most important development in architecture. Concerning the Federal Street Church, Boston, now the Arlington Street Church, facing Boston Common, "he came to the conclusion that he, as a stanch Episcopalian and consequently Trinitarian, could not design a building to serve as a place of worship for a body whose beliefs were so at variance with his own" (p. 82). Evidently the subtitle, "Architect and Churchman," was not meaningless. Many centuries ago a loyal churchman wrote, "The Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans."

ELMER W. POWELL.

MORE CHAPEL TALKS. Elbert Russell. Nashville: Cokesbury Press. 1938. Pp. 222. $1.50.

THESE talks, fifty-five in all, covering three or four pages each, were given in the main to the students of Duke University. They deal with matters very real and pertinent, not only to the student mind but to all thinking people, and they cover a wide range of religious subjects.

The average minister will find them thought-provoking and chock-full of suggestive sermonic material. Further, Dean Russell's ability to draw on many sources for illustrations make these talks refreshing and interesting.

In the foreword the author indicates his purpose as being the further "interpretation of the eternal God." That he fulfils this will be evident to the careful reader.

V. CARNEY HARGROVES.

THE MEDIEVAL WORLD. Loren Carey MacKinney. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1938. Pp. 801. $3.75.

HERE is a text-book for the student of medieval history which leaves little to be desired. An introductory survey of the ancient world prepared by Wallace E. Caldwell affords the reader intelligent hindsight. The wealth of illustrative maps and plates lend tangibility to the subject-matter. The studied distribution of emphasis to political, institutional, and social history encourages comprehensiveness. The book is exceptionally well written and employs a topical development which holds the reader's interest without the need of heroic concentration.

MILTON C. WESTPHAL.

MEDIEVAL NUMBER SYMBOLISM. Vincent Foster Hopper. New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 241. $2.90.

THIS is a scholarly and exhaustive treatise of a field of investigation quite consistently avoided by the average student of medieval thought. The author's comprehension of the subject has enabled him to write with finality, and to give to us in a single volume not only a valuable source-book for the investigator, but also a lucid interpretation of those esoteric elements in medieval literature which customarily provoke impatience rather than a desire for appreciative understanding. The bibliography afforded the serious student of Number Symbolism is probably the most exhaustive compilation available in English.

MILTON C. WESTPHAL.

MY DRIFT INTO RURAL SOCIOLOGY. Charles Josiah Galpin. Louisiana State University Press. 1938. Pp. 151. $1.00.

THIS is a sort of professional autobiography by one of the pioneers in the field of rural sociology. It is a genuine life-interest story, and it makes fascinating reading. Doctor Galpin tells of the beginnings in Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, recounts the story of his fifteen years with the Federal Department of Agriculture, and concludes with observations abroad concerning rural sociology. It is a very interesting monograph which should be placed in one's library beside *The Story of Johann Frederick Oberlin,* by A. F. Beard.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

BY WAYS TO HIGH WAYS. Dr. J. W. Storer. Nashville: Broadman Press. 1938. Pp. 121. $1.00.

THIS volume is addressed to the pastor, the Sunday school superintendent, and the Sunday school teacher. It has a main section, with about a dozen short, snappy subdivisions for each person addressed. The author has endeavored to inspire these Sunday school workers to do more efficient work. Doctor Storer's sense of humor and his play upon words impresses what he has to say upon the mind of the reader.

HARRY L. POE.

TO THEM THAT PERISH. Elias Dodson Poe. Nashville: Broadman Press. 1938. Pp. 160. $1.00.

THIS volume, by the pastor of the Belmont Baptist Church of Roanoke, Virginia, contains ten evangelistic sermons. They are addressed especially to those who are classified as "sinners" or "unsaved." Doctor Poe's method of development is that of picking a text and then building up his argument so as to substantiate the text and drive it home to the listener or reader. The theological trend of the sermons is conservative.

HARRY L. POE.